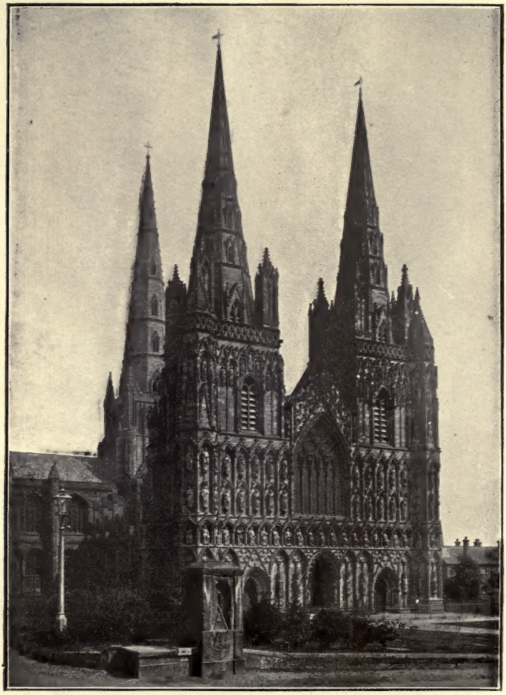
The Cathedrals of England and Wales

THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

JOSEPHOCK WOOD, 1901



THE WEST FRONT

LICHFIELD . . . . CATHEDRAL

To face Title

A-L-A
B

THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

By T. FRANCIS BUMPUS
AUTHOR OF "HOLIDAYS AMONG THE GLORIES OF FRANCE" "THE CATHEDRALS OF THE RHINE AND NORTH GERMANY" "STAINED GLASS IN ENGLAND SINCE THE GOTHIC REVIVAL" ETC.

THIRD SERIES

"Portæ nitent margaritis, adytis patentibus,
Et virtute meritorum illuc introducitur
Omnis qui pro Christi Nomine
Hoc in mundo premitur.

"Tunsionibus, pressuris, expoliti lapides
Suis coaptantur locis per manus Artificis,
Disponuntur permansuri
Sacris ædificiis."

528671
18.10.51

NEW YORK: JAMES POTT & CO.
LONDON: T. WERNER LAURIE
CLIFFORD'S INN, MDCCCCVI

THE TWO FIRST VOLUMES OF
THIS WORK

WERE DEDICATED TO THE

RIGHT REV. THE LORD ALWYNE COMPTON,

BISHOP OF ELY

AND

LORD HIGH ALMONER OF ENGLAND,

WHO ENTERED INTO HIS REST ON

PASSION SUNDAY 1906

TO THE MEMORY OF ONE OF THE BEST AND MOST
DEEPLY RESPECTED OF PRELATES
AND
KINDLIEST OF MEN
THIS
THE CONCLUDING VOLUME
IS
NOW INSCRIBED

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The Author wishes to express his acknowledgments for the following photographs:—To Miss Bickersteth for the view of the Nave looking East of Ripon, and to Rev. Precentor Swann for that from the South-east of the same Cathedral; to Mr Cyril Ridout for the view of Carlisle Cathedral from the South-west; and to Mr P. A. Gilbert Wood for those of Southwell (the Choir, looking East) and Wakefield Cathedrals.

For much assistance in describing the musical associations of the several Cathedrals, the Author is indebted to Mr John S. Bumpus, who has placed his large and valuable musical library at his disposal.

LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL

FROM THE MINSTER POOL.

THE CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

CHAPTER I

LICHFIELD

"Lichfield! Ah! of what magic letters is that little word composed!—how graceful it looks when it is written! Let nobody talk to me of its original meaning. 'The field of dead bodies'! Oh, no such thing! It is the field of joy. The beautiful city that lifts her fair head in the valley, and says, I am, and there is none beside me!"—"André's Letters to Miss Seward."

WHATEVER may be thought of the restoration to which every cathedral in England and Wales has been subjected in the course of the last half century, whether the work be approved or disapproved, there can be no doubt that we have derived from it a far more accurate and complete knowledge of the fabrics and of their history than we possessed before, or than was possible except under conditions of this modern rehabilitation.

There have been earlier "restorations." Wyatt thoroughly ransacked Salisbury and Lichfield at the end of the eighteenth century, and did his best to spoil Durham and Hereford.

When, at the Restoration, the mischief of the Commonwealth was repaired, the ignorance of ecclesiastical architecture and the arts auxiliary to it was so great, and the work in consequence, for the most part, so meagrely and imperfectly performed,[1] as to receive very little respect from the generation which succeeded. Much, however, was done in a reverential spirit, and doubtless much was preserved which would be of great use to us now, had not an age followed that effectually completed the destructive work of the Great Rebellion. Bishop Seth Ward at Exeter, Bishop Hacket at Lichfield, and Bishop Cosin at Durham brought back their cathedrals to something like the old order and decency after the desolation, and, in the case of the subject of the present sketch, the ruin which had fallen upon them during the Civil War.

At the same time, or very shortly after, the choirs of Canterbury and Worcester Cathedrals, and the chapel of Winchester College, were sumptuously fitted up with canopied stalls and wainscotting, altar-pieces, chandeliers, and other furniture in the style of their epoch. At Westminster Abbey, stained glass, the best to be had at the time, was inserted in the great northern rose and the Perpendicular west window ; the former under the direction of Bishop Atterbury, whose last wish when in the Tower (and it was denied to him) was to pass through the church and see the work which had been the object of his solicitude. When Neale wrote his work on the Abbey during the 'teens of the last century, the stately classic altar-piece, designed by Inigo Jones for Whitehall and presented by Queen Anne to Westminster, was in existence. It was a lofty and elaborate composition of two stories, in general effect not unlike the reredos in St Paul's —Tuscan below and Corinthian above, with a centre

[1] As, for instance, at Peterborough.

and curved wings richly constructed in white and coloured marbles. The fate of this altar-piece is curious. It was removed just before the coronation of George IV. in 1821 as obstructive to the view of the ceremony, its felt incongruity with the surrounding architecture forbidding its re-erection. As a piece of useless lumber which they were glad to be rid of, the Dean and Chapter presented it to Bishop King of Rochester, who was one of the prebendaries. Those were the days of rampant pluralism.

King was Vicar of Burnham, near Bristol. Thither he removed Jones's altar-piece, careless of its complete unfitness for a parish church, for which it was many sizes too large, and set it up at the east end of the chancel, where, I believe, it still stands, sadly shorn of its grandeur, blocking up the east window.

The Church of England has retained so much of the old traditions in her service, and is linked by so many ties to mediæval times, that she naturally turns back to them with affection and reverence, and has always sought to restore the departed glory of the sanctuary. I have already alluded to the refurnishing of the choirs of three cathedrals after the old arrangements at the end of the seventeenth century; moreover, the completion of some towers and extensive works dates from the same period. It is a consoling fact that the cathedrals of England retain more of their mediæval arrangements and fittings than those of France and Belgium; and as regards the fabrics, they have suffered less injury, and have preserved their original character most wonderfully.

Architecturally, it must certainly be admitted that the clergy of the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century were good tenants of the old fabrics, albeit in several instances they were led away by the specious pretensions of ignorant architects.

At Ely Bishop Mawson paved the choir with marble, and inserted some stained glass in the east

windows at his own expense, but his removal of the stalls from the octagon to the extreme east end was open to grave censure. At Lincoln, the great east window was glazed by Peckitt, and an altar-piece erected under James Essex. At Ripon, Dean Waddilove took the greatest interest in the building, and was always ready both with his time and purse to assist in its repairs and improvements. And so on. In these cases and others like them where the intentions were good, but the fulfilment less successful, there must have been an examination of the fabric itself hardly less thorough than that which of late years has been bestowed upon them.

But the examination was not supplemented by that knowledge, not only of the great principles of mediæval architecture, but of its various periods, its differences and its minute details, which we have certainly gained during the last half-century. Wren, Hawksmoor, and Gibbs despised Gothic, though they were occasionally found to labour in some kind of harmony with it. Ward, Hackett, Cosin and Bisse worked after the fashion of their time, restoring the waste places with pious care and reverence, but feeling, perhaps, little more real sympathy for groined roof and pointed arch than the contemporary John Evelyn, who, in more than one place, insists on the barbarous character of all architecture before the days of Palladio and the Renaissance of the Classical. In our time, and in our time alone, zeal for the fitting decoration of the sanctuary has been able to work hand in hand with true knowledge, and in earnest sympathy with the greatest designs of mediæval builders. Modern restorers have brought the "seeing eye" to their labours. They have been able to detect the evidences—often minute enough, but not the less definite and certain—of the various changes and additions through which, and by which, a vast and complicated structure, such as Ely or Winchester,

AN ENGLISH CHOIR IN 1814
(*From* BRITTON'S *Architectural Antiquities.*)

DORCHESTER . . . ABBEY

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has in the course of centuries attained its present condition; and when such evidences have been detected they have been able to understand and apply them.

It would be idle to deny that there has been much in the character of the renovation which has rehabilitated almost to excess so many of our great churches, that is open to very great condemnation. The present generation, to which all enthusiasms seem to be dead, is apt to pour contempt upon those to whom the Gothic revival was a religion, and who lavished their substance and toil on church restoration. No object seemed nobler or more urgent to them than the recovery of the sanctuaries of God from much that was sordid and slovenly. Nevertheless, it is a deplorable fact that this very wave destroyed much of genuine, historical, and religious value, notably the grievous treatment and ejection of sound, excellent seventeenth and eighteenth century furniture, during the neo-Gothic mania of the mid-Victorian era.

Who does not mourn over the wanton expatriation of the Gibbons panelling and altar-piece from Winchester College Chapel? Where are the charming organ-cases of Durham, Southwell, and Wells Cathedrals; of countless parish churches? Where are the Caroline canopies that were fitted to the earlier stalls at Worcester? Why is not Archbishop Tenison's grandiose throne restored to its legitimate position at Canterbury? Happy, thrice happy is the church which can boast anything of Tudor, Stuart, or Early Georgian workmanship — gallery or pew, or chandelier or font, or tomb or sounding board or organ-case, or stone floor or old altar rail— and which is not a glare of coffee-coloured walls, "cathedral" glass, shiny brass, break-neck tiles, pitch-pine, and the rest of the horrors!

To the architectural and ecclesiastical antiquary, every stage in the history of a church is valuable, and

possesses an interest of its own, so that the obliteration of the work of any one period is like tearing out a leaf in the visible history of the structure. If a rule be laid down that all work which is antecedent to the middle of the eighteenth century is to be respected, the restorer cannot go far wrong; but when he comes to the ill-judged mutilations and disfigurements of the school of Wyatt and Cottingham and Blore, there is only one course to pursue.

It has been the fashion to decry the restoration of Worcester Cathedral during the early 'sixties under Mr Perkins. When he came to work upon it he found its exterior for the most part disfigured by a collection of clumsy eighteenth-century botchings and disfigurements. The gables were flanked with pinnacles of preposterous size, and the original fenestration of the east and west ends had completely vanished.[1] Mr Perkins made mistakes, it is true; they were not, however, his fault, but of the cathedral authorities—*e.g.*, the geometrical west window, which ought to have been curvilinear. The architect's original design for this window is in existence, and a fine design it is, but he was overruled. Perkins was a man of retiring disposition, and was consequently overlooked; yet clever he certainly was, and the skill with which he replaced the wretched Georgian Gothic East window, seen in the illustration, with the present double tier of lancets, is deserving of praise. Blunders were made, but some of our important modern men would blunder more and worse had they the chance. Perkins saved the tower from the fate that befell Chichester, and which threatened Salisbury, St David's, and Hereford, taking out and rebuilding two large piers. He secured the stone vaulting that had been condemned as hopeless years before, and that narrowly escaped being substituted for wood.

[1] The east window which was inserted in 1792 is shown in the accompanying view from Wild's monograph on the cathedral.

I have prefaced this chapter on Lichfield Cathedral with the above remarks, because the work of restoration there, in almost constant progress for more than half a century, has, in all but one or two instances, involved no loss but of what was worthless, has pursued no policy but that of truth, and has effected no change but one from meanness to beauty, and from heartlessness to love. Such works as these at Lichfield have brought to us a very considerable accession of knowledge, and have enabled us to read the history of the fabric in a manner which, before so thorough an examination of walls and foundations, was scarcely possible.

This new, or at least freshened, knowledge has undoubtedly added much to the interest with which all ecclesiological students regard this most graceful of English cathedrals. Nor is it a knowledge of the fabric alone, of its architectural character and change, that has increased during the progress of these works. Modern science and modern scholarship have advanced with gigantic strides, and such a connection has been established between their various branches as has thrown new light in all directions where it was scarcely to be hoped for, and from quarters whence it was scarcely expected. Of course there are those who tell us that the whole of Lichfield Cathedral has been too completely rejuvenated, and that it has lost the venerable rust which carried us back to the days of the great mediæval architects. But in truth the "ærugo" was of no real high antiquity. It is the roman-cement and compo', the whitewash, the lath and plaster, and the "carpenter's Gothic" woodwork of the later Georgian epoch which have been removed; and we can now recognise, far more distinctly than before was possible, the grace and beauty of the original work.

I have dwelt earlier in these volumes upon the infinite variety presented by our cathedrals, owing

to the successive reconstructions and enlargements to which, as necessity dictated or devotion prompted, they have been subjected. In northern France, where most of the great churches were in progress during the first half of the thirteenth century, it is excusable, from the similarity in their laying out, to confuse one with another. Thus, the apse of St Leu d'Esserent might easily be mistaken for that of Mantes, the choir of Clermont Ferrand for that of Amiens, or the exterior of Sens, viewed at a little distance, for that of Troyes or Auxerre. But in England, where almost without exception the cathedrals exhibit a long roll of architectural achievements, extending, in such an instance as Ely, in an unbroken series from the days of the Conqueror to the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses, such confusion is hardly possible. Each cathedral has at least one feature by which it is immediately recognised. For instance, Ely has its grandly-conceived octagon; Peterborough its awe-inspiring west front; Lincoln, that *ne plus ultra* of English Gothic refinement, its Angel Choir; Exeter its transeptal towers; Salisbury and Oxford their central spires, the one the work as of an angel-architect, the other, in spite of cavillers, a beautiful and solemn thing. But Lichfield is pre-eminently distinguished by that trio of spires, whose air of feminine grace has earned for them the appropriate soubriquet of "The Ladies of the Vale." Indeed, the whole building is one to which the epithets "graceful" and "elegant" rather than "grand" or "majestic" would be applied; and if it is deficient in those subsidiary buildings which lend an additional charm to Canterbury, Gloucester, Norwich and Wells, its Close, contiguous to a piece of water, shaded by noble trees and encompassed by grave domestic buildings, is none the less charming on that account. With the exception of York—like Lichfield, a cathedral of the Old Foundation—and Southwell, no other English diocesan church

CHOIR LOOKING WEST IN 1820
(*From* WILD)

WORCESTER . . . CATHEDRAL

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stands more completely isolated than the subject of this chapter.

If tradition may be relied on, the spot occupied by Lichfield Cathedral has a claim to be regarded as one of the most sacred in England. Here, it is said, a thousand Christian martyrs were put to death at one time in the persecution which raged in the beginning of the fourth century under Dioclesian and Maximian. A field in the neighbourhood, which still bears the name of the Christian Field, is pointed out as the scene of this slaughter; and some etymologists have found a memorial of the same event in the name of the city itself. Lichfield, they contend, signifies, in Saxon, The Field of the Dead.[1] In the Saxon Chronicles the word is written *Licetfeld*; in Bede, *Lyccetfelth* and *Licitfeld*. Others derive its signification from *leccian*, to water (and it is well known to have abounded in numerous lakes and pools, two of which, "St Chad's" and "Minster" Pool, still exist); others from the verb *licean* or *lician*, to like, or to be agreeable, and therefore make it to signify "Pleasant Field."

It is certain that the present diocese of Lichfield anciently formed a part of the kingdom of Mercia, which, being conquered by the Christian king Oswy, introduced the Faith into this powerful division of the Saxon Heptarchy. He made Lichfield an episcopal See, by appointing Duima, a Scotsman, the first Bishop, A.D. 656. After a succession of three others, the famous Ceadda, or Chad, who is still deeply venerated at Lichfield, was raised to the Bishopric A.D. 667; and, although only holding it for two years, obtained great renown on account of his piety. For many ages after his death a miraculous atmosphere was believed to surround even the tomb that held his remains, which, until the Reformation, vied with

[1] Dr Johnson, himself a native of Lichfield, has taken care to record this derivation in his dictionary.

those of Becket at Canterbury, of Edmund at Bury, and of St Alban at Verulam, as a place of pilgrimage.

The first cathedral is supposed to have been begun by Chad's predecessor, Jaruman; but it was not completed till 700, in the time of Bishop Hedda, who translated St Chad's bones, taken from the neighbouring church of Stowe, into it. Of the history of the church, said to have been erected by Jaruman, little or nothing is known except that it suffered greatly from the Danes. But when excavations were being made half a century ago, the foundations of a church, less in breadth than the present church by the thickness of the walls on each side were found, terminating towards the east in an apse, about midway of the present choir; that is, at the fourth pillar westward, reckoning from the entrance to the Lady Chapel. In the extreme east part of this apse was discovered a round hollow space in the wall, 6 feet in diameter.

About the end of the eighth century the influence of King Offa obtained from the Pope the erection of Lichfield into an archbishopric; but it did not retain this dignity for more than two or three years. The diocese was originally one of great extent, comprehending nearly the half of England, but several other bishoprics were formed out of it in later times. The diocesan used to style himself sometimes Bishop of Lichfield, sometimes of Coventry; at others of Chester, having a cathedral, a palace, and a chapter in each city, till at last, upon the establishment of Chester as a separate See in 1542, the common form came to be Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Bishop Hacket, who was appointed to the See immediately after the Restoration, changed the order of the two names; and the designation of the diocese ever since has been the Bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry.

The founder of the present cathedral is usually stated to have been Roger de Clinton, who ascended the episcopal throne in 1128. The church of this

prelate had a choir of three bays and an apse. The first addition to it was a rectangular chapel extending beyond the Norman apse for a distance of about 38 feet, and with a slight deflection to the south. The next change involved the demolition of the Norman choir and the substitution of an Early English one. It extended further east, the aisles being terminated in the same plane with the east end, which was square, and arranged in four bays for as many altars. Eastwards the choir proper opened into the *via processionum*, as at Southwark, with which the Early English work was contemporary (1200-20), and later as at Exeter, by two arches, not three, as at Salisbury. This Early English eastern limb, the foundations of whose east end, together with those of the Norman choir, lurk beneath the present pavement, embraced seven bays of the existing one. A sacristy was built against the south aisle of the choir, together with an additional room on the western side, which, in all likelihood, was the Treasury. The reconstruction of the transepts, the core of the central tower, and the erection of the present Chapter-house were the next steps taken towards the transformation of the Norman cathedral, and before the thirteenth century had passed away, the nave, and perhaps some portion of the west front, had been completed.

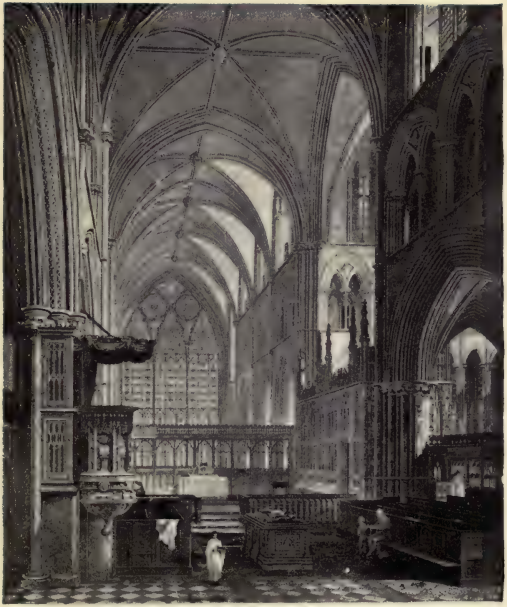
In all these works the growth of English architecture during that period may be advantageously studied. The last and most important alteration took place during the episcopate of Bishop Langton (1296-1321), who, notwithstanding his persecution at the hands of Edward II., when Prince of Wales, whose hatred he had incurred by boldly rebuking his vices, found time and means to do much for his cathedral.

Like Beckington at Wells a little more than a century later, Langton was a great patron of

architecture, constructing a magnificent new shrine for the relics of St Chad, building a new episcopal palace at Lichfield, and repairing the bishop's castles and manor houses in various parts of the diocese.[1] At the cathedral itself the portion associated with the name of Langton is the graceful and unique aisleless apsidal Lady Chapel, the first of a series of works with which he had doubtless intended to supersede the Early English choir, and to afford increased accommodation for the throngs of pilgrims to the shrine of St Chad. As at Wells and York, the Lady Chapel was begun away from the east end of the choir, so that the services should remain uninterrupted as long as possible. The episcopate of Langton's successor, Roger de Northburgh, who ruled the See from 1322-59, saw the scheme of uniting the Lady Chapel with the choir carried through. This work included the demolition of the Early English arcades as far as the third bay east of the central tower, and the rebuilding of the presbytery, making the eastern limb of the church, exclusive of the Lady Chapel, of eight bays instead of seven, as before. The triforium and clerestory above the three Early English bays suffered to remain were rebuilt to correspond with the rest; the western gable of the nave was built, and the western steeples raised. Of the latter, the south-western one is only of Northburgh's days, the other having been rebuilt in Perpendicular times, though the original style was preserved. It is less in height than its northern sister by 2 feet.[2]

[1] W. de Langton Clausum Lichesf. muro lapideo circumcinxit. Feretrum magnum pro reliquiis S. Ceddœ precii 2000 Libr. preparavit, magnam partem ultra vivarium construxit; Vicarios Lichesf.: domibus quibus inhabitant in Clauso Lichesfeldensi feoffessaviti, Palatium Episcopi in clauso construxit; fabricam capellæ B. Mariæ ubi sepultus est fundavit, et pecuniam sufficientem ad eandem Capellam planè construendam est testamento suo legavit et dimisit.—"Anglia Sacra," i. 442; E. xvi. 33.

[2] In the "Anglia Sacra," i. 447, mention is made of the burning



CHOIR LOOKING EAST IN 1820
(*From* WILD)

WORCESTER . . . CATHEDRAL

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Thus the body of the church presents us with an unbroken sequence of works, each illustrating a phase of architecture, *i.e.*, the lower part of the west end of the choir, the crossing, and a large part of the transepts and Chapter-house, Early English; the nave transitional between Early English and Decorated; and the Lady Chapel and remaining portions of the choir, fully developed Decorated.

The central tower was originally a work of the Early English period, but some time in the fourteenth century the original fabric was meddled with, a stone casing being put all round it, and the outer shell or facing of the earlier construction taken away.

The works of the Perpendicular period were neither numerous nor important, though in some respects they may have been vexatious, consisting chiefly in the vaulting of the transepts, the insertion of the large windows in their sides and ends, and of new tracery in nearly all the great clerestory windows of the choir, and several in the Lady Chapel.

Few, if any, documents referring to Lichfield Cathedral exist; they were destroyed either at the time of the Reformation, or during the Civil Wars. Under Henry VIII. the cathedral became a prey to depredation; its ornaments, statues, shrines and all other valuables were converted to the use of that royal wild beast, with the exception of the shrine of St Chad, which was saved by the intercession of the Bishop, Rowland Lea, who obtained it from the king. This prelate earnestly endeavoured to save the monastery of Coventry with its church,[1] which rivalled Lichfield in size and magnificence from

of a bell tower which stood in the Close in 1315: "7 Id Apr. combustum fuit campanile cum panis in Clauso Lichesfeldensi." It was one of a numerous race of campanili of which that at Chichester is now the solitary example.

[1] Some remains of this structure have been laid bare to the north of Holy Trinity Church.

spoliation, but in this his labour was fruitless, and they were entirely demolished. The reformers under Edward VI. completed the work of devastation.

During the winter of Puritan ascendancy no cathedral fared worse than Lichfield.

In 1642 a troop was raised for King Charles by Sir Richard Dyott. During this time the Close, which had been fortified by Bishop Langton, sustained three sieges, by which the cathedral was greatly injured.[1]

Preparations to a considerable extent were made in 1643 to defend the precincts against Lord Brooke and three thousand troops. This nobleman was a zealous opposer of the hierarchy, and had determined on the complete destruction of the cathedral, but,

> "Thanks to heaven and good St Chad,
> A guerdon meet the spoiler had,"

for he was shot by a brace of bullets discharged by a deaf and dumb gentleman of the name of Dyott, who had watched Lord Brooke's motions from one of the towers of the cathedral.

Notwithstanding the check given to the rebels by the death of "fanatic Brooke," the garrison could not long stand the siege, and were constrained to yield to the Parliamentary forces. This was the first cathedral which surrendered to them, and every species of havoc and profanation was committed by these wretches. The soldiers belonging to the king's party were imprisoned in the cathedral three days and four nights without food, except what could privately be obtained, and the inclemency of the season obliged them to convert the fittings into fuel. At this period the venerable pile became one

[1] The visitor to this cathedral will find an agreeable little pocket companion in Gresley's "Siege of Lichfield" (Burns 1840).

scene of desolation; the centre spire was battered down and costly monuments destroyed. Dugdale tells us that

"courts of guard were kept in the aisles; they broke up the pavement, every day hunted a cat with hounds throughout the church, delighting themselves in the echo from the goodly vaulted roof, and, to add to their wickedness, brought a calf into it wrapt in linen, carried it to the font, sprinkled it with water, and gave it a name in scorn and derision of that holy sacrament, Baptism; and when Prince Rupert recovered that church by force, Colonel Russel, the governor, carried away the communion plate and linen, with whatsoever else was of value."

The Close was retaken by Prince Rupert in 1643, and Colonel Harvey Bagot was appointed governor of the garrison; he had the honour of entertaining Charles I., after the battle of Naseby, when the king left Ashby de la Zouch and slept at Governor Bagot's in Lichfield on the 15th June 1645. The unfortunate monarch revisited the city twice afterwards; but its period of tranquillity was short, for, in 1646 the Close was again taken by the Parliamentary forces under Sir William Brereton, and its walls dismantled. In 1651, by order of the Rump Parliament, men were employed under Colonel Danvers to strip off the lead from the roof of the cathedral, and under Pickings to break in pieces the bells. Both these instigators of sacrilegious spoliation met with untimely ends.

Although the cathedral was in this dilapidated state, its ministers did not neglect their duties, for Ashmole tells us that "on the morning of 16th June 1660 the clerks vicars entered the Chapter-house and there said service; this, with the vestry, being the only places in the church that had a roof to shelter them." At the Restoration Dr John Hacket

was appointed prelate.[1] On his arrival he found the church little better than a heap of ruins, but, zealous in the cause of religion, he immediately set to work with an activity rarely equalled. On the following morning he employed his own coach horses to remove the rubbish, and took the most rigorous measures to obtain assistance; petitioning from house to house for pecuniary aid, and being himself a liberal benefactor. By his unwearied diligence and munificence, the cathedral had nearly regained its original beauty, and was reconsecrated on Christmas Eve 1669.

The intrepid character of Bishop Hacket is well illustrated by the following anecdote.

During the persecution of the Church he was rector of St Andrew's, Holborn, and, although the use of the Prayer Book was proscribed under a severe penalty, he continued the use of it. At length a sergeant and armed trooper were sent to the church to compel his obedience, but he, with a firm voice and unintimidated manner, read the service as he was wont to do. When the soldiers, placing a pistol at his head, threatened him with instant death, he calmly replied: "Soldiers, I am doing my duty, do you do yours!" Then, with a voice equally composed, he resumed the prayers. The soldiers, awestruck by his pious courage, left the church in astonishment.

In 1670 Bishop Hacket ordered a peal of six bells for hanging in the tower. One of them had been hung during his illness.

"He went out of his bedchamber," says his biographer, Dr Plume, "to hear it; seemed well pleased with the sound, and blessed God who had favoured him with life to hear it; but at the same time observed that it would be his own passing bell; and, retiring into his chamber, he never left it until he was carried to his grave."

[1] After the Puritan gloom and sadness had done its disastrous work, Bishop Hacket took for the Lichfield motto, "Serve God and be cheerful."

The central spire which had been battered down in the siege was restored at this time, and in a manner which proves how accurately the seventeenth century could rebuild Middle Pointed work with old materials when it had the will to do so. The tracery of the west window was also very fairly restored at this time, through the munificence, it is said, of James II. when Duke of York. It consisted of a large rose resting upon a transom, below which were six lights of equal height, the whole having perhaps been inspired by the then lately lost east window of old St Paul's.[1]

Dr Johnson, who was born at Lichfield, 18th September 1709, ever entertained the profoundest reverence for his native city. He expatiated in praise of the place and its inhabitants, who, he said, were "the most sober, decent people in England, the genteelest in proportion to their wealth, and spoke the purest English." "Surely, sir," said Boswell, to whom very little business seemed going forward in Lichfield, "you are an idle set of people." "Sir," said Johnson, "we are a city of philosophers; we work with our heads, and make the boobies of Birmingham work for us with their hands."

The circumstances of Johnson's earliest recollections of the cathedral were communicated to Boswell in a letter from Miss Mary Adye, of Lichfield.

"When Dr Sacheverel was at Lichfield, Johnson was not quite three years old. My grandfather Hammond observed him at the cathedral, perched upon his father's shoulders; listening and gaping at the much celebrated preacher.[2] Mr Hammond asked Mr Johnson how he could possibly think of bringing such an infant to church, and in the midst

[1] This tracery was replaced in 1868 by that which we now see.
[2] This scene forms the subject of one of the bas-reliefs on Johnson's monument in the Market Place.

of so great a crowd. He answered, because it was impossible to keep him at home; for, young as he was, he believed he had caught the public spirit and zeal for Sacheverel, and would have stayed for ever in the church, satisfied with beholding him."

Although Boswell accompanied the Doctor on several of his visits to Lichfield, there is but scant mention in his "Life" of the cathedral. On Sunday, 24th March 1776, when on one of these visits, the great lexicographer and the man whose head possessed one fixed idea—admiration of Samuel Johnson, and the resolve to lose no words that fell from his idolised lips—breakfasted with Mrs Cobb,

"a widow lady who lived in an agreeable sequestered place close to the town called the Friary, it having been formerly a religious house. . . . He accompanied Mrs Cobb to St Mary's Church, and I went to the Cathedral, where I was very much delighted with the music, finding it to be peculiarly solemn, and accordant with the words of the service. . . . Dr Johnson went with me to the Cathedral in the afternoon. It was grand and pleasing to contemplate this illustrious writer, now full of fame, worshipping in 'the solemn temple' of his native city."

One of Dr Johnson's rudest speeches was to a pompous gentleman coming out of Lichfield Cathedral, who said, "Dr Johnson, we have had a most excellent discourse to-day!"

"That may be," said Johnson, "but it is impossible that you should know it."[1]

When the Doctor and his "fidus Achates" worshipped in Lichfield Cathedral, the choir retained the Renaissance fittings bestowed upon it by the pious zeal of Bishop Hacket. But about the year

[1] From *Anecdotes of Johnson*, by Cradock in "Johnsoniana, or Supplement to Boswell" (John Murray, 1836).

1786 the Chapter made the discovery that it was "cold" and "draughty," so, to remedy this "uncomfortable" state of things, James Wyatt, of Durhamian, Herefordian, and Salisburian notoriety, was called in.

It appears, from an article in the *Archæological Journal* for 1875, by Mr John Hewitt, the well-known antiquary of Lichfield, that in this case Wyatt has been reproached for faults which were not his own.

"When Wyatt undertook the alterations of the Cathedral in 1788," says Mr Hewitt, "he engaged Mr Potter to carry out the works, himself very rarely appearing on the spot. Mr Potter remained the architect of the Cathedral till his death. His son"—living at the time Mr Hewitt contributed this information (aged seventy-three)—"inherited his father's drawings and plans, and all the history of the church buildings from that day to this; so that we have an unbroken chain of evidence from 1788 to 1877—a period not far short of a century. Wyatt's original plan now lies before me, and by the kindness of Mr Potter, I am enabled to point out one or two facts which will not be without interest for those who have studied the architecture of the minster. The plan will show that the choir, up to the Lady Chapel, consists of eight bays—four to the west, of Early English work, the others Decorated. Wyatt has always borne the reproach of blanking these eight bays; but Mr Potter tells us: 'The whole of these arches were not blanked by Mr Wyatt, but the four only, north and south, contiguous to the Lady Chapel, the remaining four, to the westward of the choir, having previously been closed by Sir Christopher Wren, in order to receive the stalls (believed to have been his work), some three-quarters of a century before. . . . So completely did Wren perform his work of blocking up, that he took care to conceal every vestige of moulding both of the piers, and archivolts

leaving only in view the clustered shafts from which the vaulting of the roof sprang.'

"By reference to the plan in Britton's 'Cathedrals,' it will be seen that the walling of the western arches is of great thickness, while that of Wyatt to the east is very slender. And it must be borne in mind that this walling up of the choir was no architectural blunder of Wyatt's—nor, indeed, of any one—it was not a question of architecture at all; it was a question of warmth and convenience; for, up to that day, the congregation at sermon time had to remove from the choir into the nave, where they were met by the citizens, who came, after 'Prayers' in their parish church, to listen to the preacher in the Cathedral. The choir being enlarged (not by any vagary of Wyatt, but by the positive order of the Dean and Chapter), the two congregations could be accommodated, the clatter of removal avoided, and a moderate degree of warmth attained.

"This enlargement involved the displacement of the altar-screen, a work of wood 'in the Corinthian order,'[1] said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren. Removing this, behind it was found the old stone reredos, rich in design, but sadly mutilated by the Puritans. 'Mr Wyatt,' says Mr Potter, 'was most ardent for its restoration,' but the orders of the Dean and Chapter were peremptory for its removal. A portion was employed in the construction of the new organ-loft, and a part in forming a new altar-piece. The stall work in the choir was wrought on the same model, but not till after Wyatt's death.[2] The stalls had previously been of wood, and of the assumed school of Wren. I say 'assumed,' because I am not aware of any authentic evidence to show that Wren ever worked for our cathedral. Some of this

[1] But, although not "Gothic," far superior to anything in any style that could be produced in 1788.

[2] In 1813.

wooden stall work is still preserved in the Consistory Court, notably the canopied seat which I take to be the bishop's throne shown in Browne-Willis's plan of 1727.[1] Wyatt has been also blamed for replacing some stone vaulting in the nave by plaster.

"The sole cause of his doing so was that the side walls were giving way, and it became necessary to reduce the weight they had to bear. . . . Fair play," concludes Mr Hewitt, "seemed to demand that something should be said, while yet a living witness of the facts could be found to substantiate them. Wyatt may have been guilty of errors of judgment, or his taste may not have had the true Gothic ring; but let us not continue to abuse him for the deeds of others."[2]

Be this as it may, whoever was the author of these doings, or rather misdoings, at Lichfield, the fact remains that when the choir passed into the hands of Mr Sidney Smirke, and afterwards into those of Sir Gilbert Scott in 1856, a fearful state of things was disclosed. No cathedral choir in England could have been so shockingly mutilated and ill-treated.

We may be sure that the mischief of 1788 did not escape the observation of John Carter. In one of those letters from "An Architect," contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* between 1780 and 1817 —letters in which he declared war *à outrance* to modern innovation and tampering by whatever hand or under whatever direction it was carried on— Carter suggests what the Georgian "improvers" dared to execute, and the kind of legacy which was left for those who undertook the restoration of the building just half a century ago. The remarks of this

[1] And very good it is.—[T.F.B.]

[2] Mr Hewitt's apology for Wyatt is all very well, but when we remember who was responsible for the removal of the altar at Salisbury to the extreme east end of the Lady Chapel, we do not want to look far for the culprit at Lichfield.

doughty champion of mediæval architecture are so characteristic and so clearly in advance of their age that I cannot forbear quoting those bearing on the new arrangements in the choir, *in extenso*.

It should be stated that the altar had been removed from between the sixth and seventh bays —the position it had occupied for nearly five centuries—to the extremity of the Lady Chapel, as at Salisbury; that the Renaissance return-stalls and organ-case had given place to fabrications in the "Wyattian" or "Potterian" variety of Late Gothic, and that a glass screen equally "Gothic" rising from the top of the western side of the organ-screen to the apex of the eastern tower arch completely cut off the choir from the nave; not, however, effectually, for in spite of it and the walling up of the side arches throughout the length of the former, its occupants still complained of its coldness and discomfort.

"The entrance into the choir, taking in its general space from the pavement line to the point of the groins, is entirely shut out from the nave by the new screen and the glazier's work. Much of this screen is of fresh manufacture, and the rest is made up from the remnants of the demolished high altar-screen, as a communicative person who thought fit to attend my steps informed me. Indeed, I but too well remembered the divine beauties of that superb decoration, which I had classed with those of Winchester and St Alban's in their affinity of design and luxuriousness of enrichments. Here it will be no great difficulty to conceive in what sense I commented on this national loss. Yet, as my attendant observed, 'This altar-screen is still in being, as there is no morsel of it but what has been preserved by being stuck up in one place or other. Here is a niche, there a buttress; observe that cornice, that pinnacle and those ornaments. But

come with me—I will show you all the rest of them as we look about. Now, sir, we are under the organ-loft; here on each side are more of the high altar niches. Ah! you need not doubt but your notes shall have each particle that you are in quest of.' Willing to listen to every intelligence in this scene of transformation, by way of bringing back my astonishment to some sort of accountable point, I still remained silent, which my attendant no doubt conceived was the effect of unutterable delight at beholding something new. 'Now, sir,' he went on, 'we are in the choir, where you see all its beauties at once from one end unto the other; not, as when the altar-screen was up, to trouble strangers in their enquiries about other sights, still lengthening out their charms, as they called it, by peeping over the screen, or prying behind it for founders' chapels, chantries, monuments, and I know not what, as they said were to be found in other un-un-*improved* [ah! that was the word] cathedrals. Do not mind those stalls; we have not got new ones yet—all in good time.[1] But look at the fine painted east window, which, to give an effect like some exhibition transparency, we have darkened all the surrounding ones. I observe your eyes are not very clear, therefore you must come quite close to see our new pretty little altar-piece. It is rather in obscurity, to be sure; but this part of our show is not of much consequence. Now turn round. There you shall behold all and everything in pomp and state, as the organ, its screen, the stalls before it and the glass window behind: this is our grand display, which from this shadowed spot is seen to the finest advantage of light and shade.' Recovering at last my speech, I begged to know what could possibly be the cause why the

[1] This referred to the stalls of Bishop Hacket's time which had as yet been undisturbed. They are shown in the accompanying illustration from Wild's description of the cathedral, published in 1813.

arches above the stalls, and those in continuation opening into the side aisle, had been stopped up, whereby those diversity of lines given by intervening windows, columns and groins were hid from the enquiring sight ever most pleased at such diversifying objects. 'Ah! sir,' my attendant answered, 'did you but consider the strict service of this choir twice a day, and how desirable a thing it is to be snug and warm, although little more than half an hour does the business, you would not be surprised at the stopping-up, as you are pleased to call it, to keep out the cold whereby we are rendered as comfortable as any public room in the kingdom could make us.' 'Very good,' I rejoined; 'now show me into the side aisles.' 'This way, sir. And pray how do you like this closet doorway opening into the aisles? Quite handy. Take care; we are somewhat at a loss for want of light in these aisles, but they are of no use now; so give me your hand and I will lead you to the Chapter-house. Here again we are made comfortable, good wainscotting keeping the chills and damps from the walls and the columns which are hid behind it. All is improvement in this cathedral; everything is so smart, with whitewashing, painting, and glazing. Ladies and gentlemen can now attend without the fear of taking cold, or the dread of seeing anything to make them think about dying and all that.' Thus was I entertained by this kind friend as we were returning along the aisles into the choir, when certain deplorable children in dirty ragged stuff gowns flitted by me. At first I was rather startled at appearances which I took, in these dim aisles, from a momentary error of the mind (common with me in such situations), as supernatural beings; but their stations in the choir soon dispelled all doubt about what hung on the cause why some little savings from the late expenditure on all these improvements might not have robed them in

THE CHOIR LOOKING WEST IN 1813
(*From a drawing by* CHAS. WILD.)

LICHFIELD . . . . CATHEDRAL

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decent surplices, as is the custom in other cathedrals.

"Compressing my opinions from all that I had noted of the present state of this cathedral, I found that architectural innovation had here taken its full swing, by disarrangement, demolition and modernisation, with some tolerable attempts at the minutiæ of ancient workmanship, but crippled and chained to professional ideas of improvement after the 'heathen school' taste. I discovered also that more partiality had been shown for modern accommodation than for ancient grandeur; and whether earthly sweets or heavenly joys were here meant to be the order of the day (previous to the commencement of the service), I or a greater stranger would find it difficult to determine. On leaving this once favourite scene of antiquarian delight I bore away this impression, that if I hoped to continue on my practice of Christian duties, innovation should never lead the way."

In a "Friendly Account" of these Alterations at Lichfield, the writer observes:

"The disposition of the windows and height of the ceiling were not perhaps quite so favourable for the ingenious architect (!) to diminish the visual distance of the altar by the judicious management of light and shade as at Salisbury. Still, however, it is much easier to censure than to remedy discrepancies, and it must be admitted that there is a union of sublimity, grandeur and infinite extension which admirably harmonises with the feelings and sentiments proper for devotional exercises."

Early in the last century seven windows in the eastern part of the cathedral, were equipped with some remarkable sixteenth-century stained glass. It was obtained by the Dean and Chapter in 1802, through the assistance of Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart.,

who, travelling through the Bishopric of Liège after it was under the dominion of the French, visited the dissolved Abbey of Herckenrode.[1] Here twenty-five nuns of the Cistercian order, all of noble extraction, had been in possession of a splendid revenue; and, rebuilding their church in the sixteenth century, had enriched the windows with the choicest productions of the glass stainer's art.

When the house was desolated, this glass was stowed away, and upon its coming to the knowledge of Sir Brooke Boothby, he bargained for it, at the price of £200, generously transferring the vast advantage of this purchase, consisting of 340 pieces, each about 22 inches square, to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield.

The short Peace of Amiens afforded an opportunity of safely importing this treasure, which, accounting by the rate at which such glass, taken from suppressed religious houses on the Continent, has been sold in England, may be estimated at the value of £10,000. The total expense of purchasing, importing, arranging and repairing this glass, and of fitting the windows to receive it, may have cost about £1000.

In the task of arranging this glass, valuable assistance was rendered by the Rev. William Gorsuch Rowland, an enthusiastic admirer and patron of stained glass, whose opinion, owing to his unrivalled practical knowledge of and discernment in the art, was often sought. Mr Rowland, who was a Prebendary of the stall of Curborough in Lichfield Cathedral, and Incumbent of St Mary's, Shrewsbury, died in 1851. In St Mary's, and three other churches in Shrewsbury, he placed a large collection of old stained glass at great cost to himself. In early life he was a tolerable draughtsman, and when about 1812

[1] This abbey was founded in 1182 by Gerard Compte de Loo and Mary, his wife, and ranked among the richest and most powerful in the Low Countries.

Dean Woodhouse commissioned Sir John Betton (afterwards associated with Evans of Shrewsbury) to put stained glass into the large Late Perpendicular windows of the transepts at Lichfield Cathedral, Mr Rowland was invited to design the architectural accessories.

Within the last ten years this glass of the Betton-Evans *fabrique* has been removed to make way for modern work, and placed in the Guildhall. An interesting and not altogether unfavourable specimen of the work of its epoch, this glass represented single figures standing upon tall pedestals, and it might have been temporarily inserted in the clerestory of the choir, where it would have had the effect of toning down some of the superabundant light which at present streams rather too powerfully through its unstoried panes.

The Roman cement work which, until thirty years ago, disfigured the west front has often been attributed to Wyatt. It was not done, however, till eight years after his death, viz., between 1820 and 1822. The architectural portion was by Westmore, the plaster statues of the Virgin Mary and four saints in the central doorway by Armstrong, and the whole was executed under the superintendence of Bernasconi, who about the same time was "restoring" the altar-screen of Westminster Abbey in "compo" after the removal of the Renaissance altar-piece.

While this work was going on at Westminster Abbey a boy of fourteen was in the church, watching its progress with a curious vigilance which, from that time, never flagged for half a century. That was the earliest reminiscence which Sir Gilbert Scott retained of the Abbey, and little did he dream that within thirty years he should be called upon to watch over that church in which he took most delight of all buildings in all the world, or that the task of bringing back that altar-screen to something of its pristine beauty with honest materials, would

be consigned to him. Strange, too, that a little later he should be engaged upon a similar task for the west front of Lichfield Cathedral.

The original row of figures across the front, for the credit of whose demolition the weather and the Parliamentary troops are joint candidates, were in so sorry a plight that they were scarcely distinguishable from mere lumps of stone. One of the lumps had a something which was construed into a harp. The old writers therefore made this their datum line for the whole, and we are informed accordingly that the series represents "the monarchs of Israel and Juda, the figure with the harp being David." But Dean Woodhouse was opposed to this attribution. Accepting, however, the harp, he replaced King David by King Alfred, proclaiming the whole group to be representations of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings of our land, with the exception of the central figure, which he appropriated to St Chad. For the restoration of these figures, which were, of course, purely conjectural,[1] other cathedrals were, by order of the Dean, examined, notably Wells, where the younger Potter above alluded to was employed several days in making drawings from the statues of the west front. When the whole was done it was a clever work on which infinite pains must have been expended; but in spite of this the result was utterly unsatisfactory, false and lifeless.

In 1856, the walls which had been run up between the eight bays on either side of the choir were removed under the direction of Mr Sidney Smirke, who shortly before had "restored" the south side of the nave. Two years later designs were prepared

[1] An outcry was, of course, raised by the "anti-restoration" fanatics when these wretched objects were doomed to disappear thirty years ago. The curious in such matters may see some of these effigies, together with that of Charles II., which "embellished" the apex of the great western gable, in the north-western tower.

by Sir Gilbert Scott, for the entire restoration and refurnishing of this part of the church. The Dean, Dr Howard, being incapacitated by age and infirmity from taking an active share in the work, a zealous coadjutor was found in Precentor Hutchinson, "a really wonderful man who did his work right nobly," records Sir Gilbert in his "Recollections." Archdeacon Moore, who succeeded Hutchinson in the Precentorship, also took the heartiest interest in the restorations, which made such good progress that by the autumn of 1861 the cathedral had been thrown open from end to end, just as we see it now, except that the reredos was not in position.[1]

The day of reopening, 22nd October 1861, was signalised by a gathering of diocesan and other choirs, to the number of nearly a thousand voices, under the leadership of Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley, whose grand anthem, "It came even to pass," composed for the occasion, was perhaps as musically effective as anything in the whole of the services. The words are selected from the 13th and 14th verses of the 5th chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles, and the learned composer admitted, by the use he made of unisonous passages in this anthem, what is really most telling for vast numbers.

A cathedral twice filled in the same day by thousands, the attraction of preaching not being forthcoming at the Morning Service; the diocesan clergy flocking together in shoals; the long range of stalls crowded with surpliced clerks; the communicants nobody counted how many hundreds; the nave, as far as the west door, occupied with worshippers; the high but light open metal screen crowned with the cross; the originators and hearty overseers of these various incidents, the Bishop (Lonsdale), the Dean (Howard), and the Chapter of

[1] During the whole time, Daily Prayer was only stopped for eight days, viz., while the great wooden partition between the nave and the choir was being removed.

an ancient diocese: were all elements which combined to create a result which was more than rewarded by success so rapidly achieved, and so largely accorded.

"It was a difficult matter," says one who was present, "to get into the cathedral for the Afternoon Service. Crowds waited at the doors with much patience and good-humour. When the doors were opened the crush was unavoidably great; one little boy, carried in on his father's back, will probably remember it all his life long, as Dr Johnson remembered being carried by his father to hear Sacheverel preach."

"It was a day to be remember'd well.
The coldest, dullest heart had thaw'd awhile,
As peal on peal awoke that organ's swell,
And sober Autumn's sun vouchsaf'd a smile:
Through long-drawn windows fraught with hallow'd lore,
How lovingly those cheerful glances fell!
Green, red, and crimson diaper'd the floor
Throughout the length of Lichfield's towering pile.
Into one voice a thousand voices blent,
And, as the cries of many waters soar,
On high the joyful 'Hallelujah' sent,
'Glory to God,' they sang, 'for evermore'!
Shepherds and flocks, and great ones of the land
Link'd with the lowest in one faithful band.

"October's short-liv'd light had wan'd away:
Hush'd in expectance sate the rev'rent crowd,
While fiery jets spread forth a second day
On wide-spread arch, and niche and roof embow'd;
And girdled pilaster, like summer bower
With stony chaplets wreath'd; and 'neath that dome
Uprose of Christian orators the flower,[1]

[1] Bishop Wilberforce, who preached at the Afternoon Service from a temporary pulpit of wood. In the course of his sermon he drew a parallel between the Jews going three times a year for divine service to the Temple at Jerusalem, and the inhabitants of a diocese, as to-day, meeting for worship in the Cathedral Church; and concluded by an eloquent exhortation to devotional service to Almighty God. "The best praise we

Most like the Byzantine, sweet Chrysostom,
While as he spake, methought, look'd kindly down
White-bearded Chad, Langton, and he who wore
The cockled hat in Jewry's land.[1] To crown
The band attent' of holy men of yore,
Hacket, unseen, saw friend unite with friend
To frame of his Beginnings worthy End."

It is impossible within these limits to dwell in detail upon all the works carried out in Lichfield Cathedral between 1861 and the present time, during which munificence, both public and private, has not only enabled the structure to be put in substantial repair, but to exhibit an appearance not far short of its original splendour, before the spoiler had, like Jerusalem in its overthrow, made of it "an heap of stones."

In his sermon preached at the service of Thanksgiving on the octave of St Chad's Day, 9th March 1901, to commemorate the conclusion of the work, the present Archbishop of York[2] very justly observed: "Step by step this most beautiful of English cathedrals has been restored to more than its ancient beauty, and carried on to what we may almost call its present perfection."

In the course of description I shall, however, touch upon the most important features in the restorations, leaving my readers to supply the deficiency from an admirable pamphlet by Canon Lonsdale, entitled, "Recollections of Work done in and upon Lichfield Cathedral from 1856 to 1894," and published by Mr A. C. Lomax, a Lichfeldian name that will ever be held in esteem.

Some few days after his appointment to the

can give to his lordship's address," observes the writer above quoted, "is perhaps by recording an observation we heard made by a second-class fellow-passenger homeward—"Well, if they call that 'high church,' I only wish we had a little more of it.'"

[1] Bishop Langton.

[2] Dr Maclagan, Bishop of Lichfield from 1878 to 1891.

Deanery of Lichfield,[1] Dr Bickersteth met Sir Gilbert Scott in London, when the latter, after congratulating him upon his elevation, said in a half-humorous way: "The whole of your west front is faced." The Dean replied that he had been acquainted with the melancholy fact for the last fifteen years, and Sir Gilbert remarked: "Then it will soon be stone." In 1876, only a year after this conversation, the work of removing the Roman cement began under Scott, and when two years later the great architect died, he was succeeded by his son, John Oldrid, under whom it was carried on to completion in 1884.[2]

The west front of Lichfield Cathedral, with its graceful flanking steeples, was, like those of Wells, Salisbury, and Lincoln, manifestly designed for the display of sculpture, every unnecessary interference with its surface, such as openings for windows, being avoided.

To be sure, we miss those deep buttresses that give such fine effects of light and shade to the western façade of Wells, the angle turrets of the towers alone breaking the general flatness.

Notwithstanding the modesty of its dimensions, the west front of Lichfield comprises far more poetry than is spread over the whole surface of a gigantic frontispiece such as that at Cologne.

The idea that the design of the Lichfield west front was borrowed from France is entirely fallacious. Here and there there may be features which some might attribute to French influence, as, *e.g.*, the recessing of the central double doorway and its equipment with statuary; yet the best authorities agree that there are no grounds for bestowing on any country but our own, the glory of having produced this remarkable and beautiful design. Although so much

[1] In 1875.

[2] The formal dedication of the restored west front took place on 29th May 1884.

had been hidden by the coating of Roman cement, yet, happily, traces of all the mouldings were found when it was removed, and the process of investigating these minute evidences, extending over so great an area, and relating to a design so full of variety and elaborate detail, was of necessity most laborious.

The restoration was a truly conservative one, for wherever any fragments of ancient statuary remained they were scrupulously preserved, and the beautiful result we now see was not due to any cleverness or originality on the part of the architect entrusted with its superintendence, but to its being a faithful and exact reproduction of the original design.

The restoration of the imagery must be regarded as one of the most extensive and laborious works undertaken in this department of art since mediæval times.

With the exception of two figures upon the north-west tower, and which can be readily distinguished from the modern sculpture by their darker hue, all the imagery defaced by the Puritans during the siege was removed in 1749.[1]

What happened early in the last century has already been detailed. Some alterations were effected in 1867, when the window given by James II. was replaced by the present one. About 1874 a scheme was drawn up for a complete restoration of the façade, and for refilling the empty arcades with imagery upon a well-digested plan. The work, entrusted to four sculptors—Mr Seale, Mr Bridgeman, Mr Ingram and Miss Grant—was commenced in 1877, and seven years later it stood completed.

The injuries due to natural causes would not have been so serious had the cathedral been originally in more enduring stone. All the churches which were built in red sandstone, notably Carlisle, Chester,

[1] It is said that a sweep was employed to do this.

Coventry, Shrewsbury and Worcester, have suffered alike, Chester, perhaps, worst of all. Externally, the beautiful warm-coloured material at Lichfield had suffered from the injuries of time, while internally one uniform dead yellowish wash had robbed it of half its charm. In the one case a considerable part of the damage has been repaired, though, of course, not without the loss of much of the venerable character the church had whilom presented. In the other, the comb was alone needed to restore the natural hue to the stonework; grey in the Early English, and roseate in the Decorated portions.

Entering this most graceful of English cathedrals by the western doorway, the eye, carried along the 370 feet of continuous vaulting, is caught by the very pronounced deflection of the eastern arm to the north.

A similar example of a strongly marked orientation occurs at Bristol, and, as in the case of Lichfield, is probably a retention of the lines on which the earlier churches were built.

The nave may be held to be almost absolute perfection in design and detail. In progress between 1250 and 1270, it is parallel in style with the Angel Choir at Lincoln, the Chapter-houses at Salisbury and Westminster, Stone Church near Dartford, and the north transept of Hereford. It is, in point of fact, Transitional between the Lancet Period as exhibited in the nave of Lincoln, and the perfected Geometrical Decorated of that of York Cathedral, but, notwithstanding the reticence observed in its setting out, the nave of Lichfield is far more satisfactory and more full of poetry than either of those examples, between which it takes up intermediate ground.

In some respects, particularly in that of colour and harmonious arrangement, the nave of Lichfield recalls that of another Mercian cathedral, Worcester, begun, however, nearly a century later.

We have here a remarkable instance of the employ-

ment of the triforium as an important and distinct member, and of its almost complete loss.

As a distinct architectural member of a bay, the triforium belongs by right to the Norman style, which derived it from the early Roman basilicas, as at St Agnes, St Laurence, and the Quattro Coronati, and passing by inheritance to the Early English style, was gradually disused by the Decorated artists except, when in the choir at Ely, Alan of Walsingham had to adapt the level of his work to an already existing design, and dropped out altogether in the Perpendicular period. The insignificance of the triforium in the choir of Lichfield Cathedral — it is merely a passage above the arcades made continuous by piercing the reveals of the clerestory windows—shows how subordinate was its place in the mind of the fourteenth-century architect when he rebuilt the Early English choir with the exception of the first three arcades. Professor Willis was of opinion that there was no distinct triforium in Early English times at Lichfield. Probably, as in the not far distant choir of Southwell Cathedral, it was combined with the clerestory.

In the grandly developed triforium of Lichfield nave we have two richly moulded openings in each bay rising from clustered shafts, each opening being sub-divided into two cusped arcades supported on a pillaret with a quatrefoiled circle in the tympanum. The foliaged ornament here, as well as of the lovely clustered shafts composing the piers of the arcade below, is of the most graceful character, but without any tendency towards naturalism; and when the whitewash was removed at the restoration of 1860, it was found to be exactly as it is now. No plaster tinkering such as had been attempted in the eighteenth century in the choir, was found, and even in the few places where the mouldings had disappeared no reparation was attempted.

In the clerestory the introduction of the spherical

window,[1] traceried with three trefoiled circles, was a happy thought on the part of the architect, since it fills up the space formed by the lines of the vaulting much more pleasingly than a small window of the ordinary type.

The aisles, unbroken by porches or other projections, present a uniform series of graceful windows of three uncusped lights each, and traceried with three circlets sexfoiled, except the westernmost one on either side, which has three plain lancets touching the head of the arch only. Many of these windows are filled with stained glass, which, in spite of an absence of uniformity, inseparable from the employment of several artists, is, on the whole, good.

In the third window from the east in the south aisle, and in the second in the opposite one, the stained glass is early work of Messrs Burlison and Grylls. It is interesting to compare this glass with such a late work of those artists as that in the small square-headed window of two lights in the base of the south-western tower, or with that at the end of the passage to the Chapter-house.

Mr Slater's font of elaborate and coloured marbles, carved by Mr Forsyth, stands within the second bay on the north side. Its design is octagonal, the cardinal sides being longer and containing groups, while figures stand in the short oblique sides. The basin is supported by one large and four small circular shafts. The whole is solid and massive without being heavy, and the execution, for its date (1860), very commendable.

With regard to the pulpit, we learn from Canon Lonsdale's admirable pamphlet that it was the source of much discussion. The sermon preached by Bishop

[1] Windows of this shape are not very usual in England. Early Decorated examples occur in the triforia at Westminster and Hereford, and Late ones at Alberbury in Shropshire, the Maison Dieu at Dover, and in the eastern gable of Carlisle Cathedral.

Wilberforce on the afternoon of the reopening day, had been delivered from a temporary pulpit of wood.

The right position of the permanent structure was decided on soon after the whole building was thrown into one. It was simply the result of experiment. But what was the material of the new pulpit to be—wood, or stone, or what else? To fix it with its base resting on the ground in its present position would have sadly blocked the view up the church from the west end. It was suggested to Sir Gilbert Scott that a stone pulpit should hang from the large pillar at the end of the nave, after the fashion of the beautiful model at Holy Trinity Church, Coventry. To this, however, he objected, because it would involve the cutting away of a large quantity of the original fabric. Would the same objection, it was said to him, apply to metal? "You have hit it," was his answer; and straightway Mr Skidmore was commissioned to execute the design, which the architect placed in his hands; with what success all can judge. The idea of this pulpit seems rather German in *motif*, particularly the double staircase, the western one of which, an after-thought, had better not have been added.

For many years after the reopening the nave retained the light open benches with which it was seated. Lately, however, they have been superseded by chairs, greatly to the general improvement of this part of the cathedral.

The four great arches supporting the central tower are among the noblest features of the interior, and were reproduced by Mr E. C. Hakewill in the remarkable church built from his designs nearly sixty years ago at South Hackney.

The arches rise from graceful groups of shafts, mostly banded, and all with delicately foliaged capitals. It is rather to be regretted that the crux should have been vaulted in Perpendicular times,

as the charming Early English wall arcading just above it has been concealed from view. The ascent to the tower is amply repaid by a sight, not only of this piece of work, but of the rose window and its inner plane of tracery in the south transept gable.

It is to the situation of the cathedral on ground shelving somewhat abruptly from north to south that we must attribute those flights of steps which confer such picturesqueness upon the transepts, the northern flight being internal and the southern one the reverse. A somewhat similar arrangement, arising from the same cause, exists at Bourges and Paderborn Cathedrals.

Of the transepts at Lichfield, the southern is the earlier, having been commenced in 1220. The northern one is twenty years later, and, although the general arrangement is the same, there is a slight difference in the details. Each was planned with an eastern aisle, that of the northern one being considerably larger.

In the southern transept the original Early English fenestration has been restored to the windows on the eastern and western sides[1]. All the others retain the Perpendicular work with which Bishop Blyth, who is recorded as having made considerable repairs early in the sixteenth century, endowed his cathedral.

"Templum tunc temporis reparatur et ordinatur; ad cujus instaurationem contulit D. Episcopus I. quercus, et xx. libras. Deditetiam in ornatum templi aulæ pretii xx librarum; et imagines argentias D. Ceddæ et S. Katerinæ."—"Anglia Sacra," i. p. 455.

[1] It is greatly to be regretted that Mr Kempe should have put stained glass of so late a character into the recently "restored" triplet in the eastern aisle of this transept. It is quite time we saw the back of this Cinquecento mania, and a return to the medallion style in windows of this period.

Originally the transepts appear to have had wooden roofs, which they retained until the beginning of the fifteenth century, when they received the plain lierne vaults with large bosses which we now see. At any rate, we read that in 1243 Henry III. ordered for St George's Chapel, Windsor, "a lofty wooden roof, like the roof of the *new work* at Lichfield," the date of which would suit the transepts better than the choir.

During the earlier phase of the restorations, Professor Willis paid a visit to Lichfield to prepare himself for a lecture on the cathedral. He did not communicate with Sir Gilbert Scott, but pursued his investigations with the assistance of the foreman of masons. Sir Gilbert learned subsequently that while in company with this man the Professor had discovered, upon the upper surface of the string-course of the triforium of the transepts, the marks of the setting out of the groining shafts of the Early English work, which from that level upwards was removed, or altered, in the fifteenth century. No communication was made to Sir Gilbert Scott upon the subject, and the first he heard of it was from a complaint made, he believed, by Professor Willis himself, that the stones in which these invaluable evidences had existed had been removed by this very foreman, who, with the exception of the Professor himself, was the only man who was aware of their existence. The man's excuse was that, as Professor Willis had taken notes of them, he did not think there was any need to preserve them, and as his men had nothing else to do in the winter, and the stones were somewhat out of repair, he had set them at work to renew them. This was an intensely vexatious incident, and Sir Gilbert considered that he had not been well treated by Professor Willis, by entrusting such evidence thus discovered to the sole guardianship of an ignorant mason, and in making no communication whatever

to him, as architect to the cathedral. What became of the Professor's notes Sir Gilbert never knew. He never saw or heard of these interesting relics, and now they are irrecoverably lost.

The manner in which the Perpendicular architects have tampered with the Early English windows in the transepts at Lichfield is vexatious. If we look at the western side of the north transept, from the exterior, we can form some idea of the original form of the windows which in all probability took the form of triplets of lancets grouped beneath an arch—and of how they have been interfered with and transmuted into Perpendicular ones. In the opposite transept we see the original fenestration in the lower tier on the western side, where it consists of simple lancets arranged in pairs without any containing arch, as at York. The same Perpendicularising process took place with regard to the window above either entrance. About ten years ago a generous donor—Mr Chadwick of Hints—offered to present new stained glass to the great north transept window, which it will be remembered had, as well as the southern one, been filled early in the last century by Sir John Betton and Evans. It was, however, represented to him that the stonework was so decayed that, unless reconstructed, it would not hold his gift in safety. Mr Chadwick therefore undertook the restoration of the whole window, when, lo and behold! on Mr J. O. Scott's setting to work upon it, four lancet heads made their appearance, embedded in various parts of the wall. This was a sufficient clue to the restoration of the original Early English window; other portions presented themselves, and the result was the disappearance of the Late Perpendicular window, and the reinstation of the original four equal lancets. These have been filled with stained glass by Clayton and Bell, representing the Radix Jesse, in which those artists may be said to have surpassed themselves.

In the south transept, when the front called for prompt treatment some ten years ago, sufficient traces were not forthcoming to reproduce the great Early English windows with certainty, so the authorities had to be contented with replacing the Perpendicular window on the same lines, equipping it with stained glass from the *ateliers* of Mr C. E. Kempe. Here we have represented the spread of the Catholic Church under the Figure of the True Vine and its Branches, which bears as its fruits the leading saints and bishops of the most important Sees of Christendom in early ages. This glass, which is very fine, forms a memorial to some members of the Lonsdale family.

In the screen separating the choir from the nave, we have one of the earliest examples of those metal *cancelli* which are almost as characteristic of Sir Gilbert Scott's restorations as his sculptured reredos. The closed structural *pulpitum*, the massive stone screen such as exists at Canterbury and York, at Ripon and Southwell, at Exeter and St David's, was perhaps more developed in this country than any other, though France once had its elaborate *jubés*, and Germany still retains not a few of her eccentrically pierced *Lettner*.[1]

Where such a screen remains, no one would ever dream of removing it, and Sir Gilbert Scott always stood out against the destruction of such, his principle being never to destroy a mediæval close screen in order to erect a light open one.

It is quite true that such a screen prevents all view into the choir from the nave, and renders the latter for congregational purposes almost impossible; at any rate, on ordinary occasions.

At Exeter, owing to the peculiar construction of the screen, the difficulty was partly surmounted by piercing the walls at the back of the return-stalls.

[1] *See* vol. ii., p. 240.

At Hereford, Lichfield, Ely, Salisbury, Winchester, and Worcester, there was no old work to be respected; and the light, open screens which have taken the place of feeble Georgian Gothic productions are admirably fitted for the services of the Anglican Church, and have a grace of their own well in keeping with the ancient sculpture and wood-carving closely associated with them.

The difficulties accompanying the execution of the Lichfield screen were not slight, for Scott and Skidmore, between whom the credit of it must ever rest, had to steer a medium course between translating a modern design into another material, and of producing a work which was too flimsy for its situation.

Of course, in a cathedral screen greater massiveness is allowable than in a piece of metal-work for a smaller building. But the way in which the two metals — the bright, shining brass, and the iron utilised as a material for applied colour—are interchanged, keeps up the balance of lightness and solidity, the more bulky material being likewise that one which glistens, and the thinner iron the one upon which the coloration relies for its repose. In the capitals of the shafts, Skidmore was among the first to put to the proof a theory that hammered models in metal give the best idea of early foliage. Without entering into the value of the idea, its results at Lichfield may honestly be praised.

The introduction, too, of naturalistic imitation of fruits and flowers, including some in ivory and cornelians, was carried out with judicious moderation, specially pleasing being the passion-flower skirting the pediment, with something of the effect of the ball flowers of a stone moulding. The wings of the angels which occupy the circles above the openings on either side the entrance were at first made to flutter, thus breaking the symmetry of the design, and raising a feeling of unrest where repose is

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wanted; now in most instances they very properly droop.

As in the screen, so in the woodwork of the choir-stalls and bishop's throne, executed by Evans of Ellaston—said to have been the original of "Adam Bede"—Sir Gilbert employed that Early Northern French type of Pointed for which, at the time of the Lichfield restorations, he had so strong a predilection.[1] Owing to the light, open character of the screen, there are no particular seats for the residentiaries, who occupy their prebendal stalls, but the manner in which the junction of the side stalls with the returned ones of the Dean and Precentor is effected is very ingenious.

In two views of the choir, as proposed to be refitted, and published in the *Ecclesiologist* of December 1859, the three bays occupied by the stalls are represented as fitted with grilles. To the present day these have never been supplied, so that from being one of the closest and most confined of English cathedral choirs, that of Lichfield has become one of the most open. The introduction of backs and canopies is now under consideration.

The organ built after the Restoration, when Bishop Hacket set his cathedral in order,[2] remained, after some alterations during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, until 1788, when it was almost entirely rebuilt by Green, and enclosed in the "Gothic" case shown in Wild's view of the choir.[3]

[1] From no English cathedral had the original fittings more completely disappeared than Lichfield; first during the Great Rebellion, and afterwards under Wyatt. Such woodwork as existed when the restoration of 1858 began, was so utterly worthless that the retention of any of it was not to be thought of for a moment.

[2] It was obtained by the contributions of ladies, whose names were inscribed on the case—*e.g.*, "Illustrissima heroina Francisca ducissima Somersetensis," and others.

[3] Green's organ was opened 2nd November 1790. During

When the screen was removed between 1858 and 1861, an entirely new organ by Holdich was provided through the generosity of Mr Joshua Spode of Hawksyard Park, and Green's organ disposed of to the neighbouring church of Armitage. Holdich's organ gave place in 1884 to an entirely new one by Hill, and although a fine instrument of four manuals and sixty-six stops, is not heard to advantage in its present position, the eastern aisle of the north transept. Its removal to the north clerestory of the choir is now decided upon ; and, as no finer position could be devised, it is to be hoped that before these pages are much older it will have become an accomplished fact. Canon Lonsdale in his pamphlet tells us that Sir Gilbert Scott much wished to build a chamber for it above the first south bay in the choir, but he declined to give any guarantee that this position would answer for the sound of the instrument itself, or for its combination with the voices in the choir.

Of the old organists of Lichfield Cathedral, perhaps one of the best remembered is Dr John Alcock. Originally a chorister of St Paul's, under the "serviceable"[1] Charles King, Mus.B., he became, after holding several minor appointments, organist and master of the choristers, and one of the vicars choral of Lichfield in 1750. The former appointments he resigned after ten years, but the latter he retained until his death, at the age of ninety-one, in March 1806. In 1771 he published a volume of anthems

Wyatt's "improvements," which occupied three years and a half, there was no service at all. (*See* "Miss Seward's Letters," vol. iii., Letter 14, p. 40.)

[1] So called from his having been a prolific composer of services, which, by reason of their melodious and vocal character, continue in frequent use in every cathedral. King was almoner and master of the choristers of St Paul's in the reigns of Queen Anne and the first two Georges, and held such a mild sway over his charges that he was long traditionally remembered by these doggerel lines :—

with a lengthy preface, in which, like S. S. Wesley in after years, he lamented the want of patronage, and the distaste for cathedral service, declaring that a singing man would rather sing twenty songs at a concert than one anthem in church. Some of the old doctor's comments on his own anthems are very curious.

"The seventh anthem,"[1] he writes, "has no other merit than its shortness, and may serve in a cold, frosty morning, instead of 'O praise the Lord, all ye heathen,' etc., or 'Deliver us, O Lord'[2] (Mr Batten); 'O Lord, grant the King,' and 'Praise the Lord, O my soul, (Dr Child); 'Call to remembrance,' and 'Hide not Thou Thy face' (Mr Farrant); 'I will arise' (Dr Creyghton), and such-like anthems, a minute and a half long, which are much used at some cathedrals even in summer."

"Alcock," says Mr W. A. Barrett, "was one of the few musicians who saw the need of making an effort to retain the supremacy of old English Church music by avoiding the fascination of ministering to a passing popular taste, and by continuing to observe the pattern left by the old masters. He was the link between the old world and the new,

> "Indulgence ne'er was asked in vain;
> He never smote with stinging cane;
> He never stopt the penny fees.
> His boys were let do what they please."

If the last line be true, no "let or hindrance" seemed to be placed on their employment of grammar. The "penny fees" refer to the pence allowed to the boys out of the Almonry Fund, and the master occasionally stopped them for bad behaviour.

[1] "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way"—a full anthem in four parts. It was reprinted among the music given in *The Parish Choir*—an excellent serial devoted to the improvement of Church music, published, in periodical numbers, between 1846 and 1851.

[2] "'Deliver us' this afternoon, I am going for a drive," Dean Hobart would occasionally say to Sir George Elvey at St George's Chapel, Windsor.

less by reason of his style of writing than by the musical memories of a long life."[1]

One of Alcock's morning services, that in B flat, contains a setting of *Benedictus*, a somewhat unusual thing during the Georgian epoch. His setting of the *Miserere* to Latin words for four voices, is exceedingly fine and classical, and deserves to be rescued from oblivion. He directs that it should be sung without accompaniment.

The idea of publishing a collection of English Cathedral music in score originated with Dr Alcock. In 1752 he issued proposals for printing a selection of the finest services and anthems from Tallis downwards. A copy of these proposals, now very scarce, is in the possession of Mr J. S. Bumpus. Alcock, however, hearing that Dr Greene, then organist of St Paul's, was engaged upon a work of a similar nature, very generously presented him with all the MSS. then in his possession. Greene, dying before he could accomplish his task, bequeathed all his materials to his pupil, Dr Boyce, with the request that he would continue the work. So between 1760 and 1778 appeared the three famous volumes familiarly known as "Boyce's Cathedral Music." This, without doubt, for the period which it embraced—*i.e.*, from the Reformation to the time of George II.—was one of the finest collections of Anglican Church music ever made. Curiously enough, Dr Alcock lived long enough to afford considerable assistance to Dr Samuel Arnold, who in 1790 published three volumes supplementary to those of Boyce.

In the fine and extensive collection of autograph letters of musical and other celebrities belonging to Mr John S. Bumpus, are two from Dr Alcock to Dr Arnold respecting the "Cathedral Music." As specimens of the epistolary correspondence of their time they are worth inserting here.

[1] "English Church Composers," p. 134.

"LICHFIELD, *January 25th*, 1791.

"MY WORTHY FRIEND,—I have just finish't a Score of Mr King's Evening Service in B from the single Parts which I had from Mr Walond, Organist at Oxford 45 years ago, and were full of perfect 5ths following each other, so that I could not help altering several passages therein, tho' I really imagine some of them were left in that state even by my most ingenious Master, whose music was so naturally pleasing as made him neglectful of the few common Rules of Composition. I have also lately corrected a Score of the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* of the same Service belonging to one of our Vicars, which I will copy out and send you as soon as I have finish't it, if you should like to have it. I will also send you some anthems that I many years since wrote out from Dr Aldrich's own hand-writing, of his composing, which you will see are very fine—'O Lord, I have heard Thy voice,' and 'O praise the Lord, all ye heathen,' which were often done at St Paul's when I was a boy in the choir under Mr Chas. King. I shall send two folio volumes and Mr King's Evening Service by the mail coach, which puts up at The Swan with Two Necks in Lad Lane, directed for you, to be left at our worthy friend's, Mr Hudson.[1] As to Mr King's other Services and Anthems about which you ask, I should think the most correct Copies may be had at St Paul's, especially in the old Organ Books, wherein he generally wrote most of his own Musick. To the Commandments, I never saw *Miserere* wrote or printed, but always *Kyrie Eleison*, both in our own and the Roman Catholick Latin Musick, tho' I don't doubt you have sufficient reasons for what you do.[2]

[1] Robert Hudson, Almoner and Master of the Boys at St Paul's 1773-93. He was then living, with his eight choristers, at 1 St Peter's Hill, Doctors' Commons. He died at Eton in December 1815, and was buried in the crypt of St Paul's.

[2] Notwithstanding Alcock's assertion, Dr Child, organist of

I lately receiv'd from my sincere Friend, Mr Hudson, one of the most entertaining Letters that ever was wrote, and which I really am unable to answer, but by my hearty wishes for his health and happiness, and likewise my earnest Prayers for all those eminent Doctors and Batchelors in Musick who were so exceedingly kind as to drink my health, and express themselves in such a particular manner as has almost made me vain: God Almighty bless them all for their exalted Goodness.[1]—I am, Sir, with the utmost sincerity, your most unfeigned Friend and Wellwisher,

"JOHN ALCOCK.

"*P.S.*—Please to give my most respectful Compliments to my Dear Friend, Mr Hudson, and Family. I design to send the Books by the Coach to-morrow morning, and he will have the Parcel about 10 o'clock on Thursday morning."

"To Dr Arnold,
"Organist of His Majesty's Chapel Royal, etc.,
"Near Charles Street, Westminster.

"*November 3rd*, 1795.

"DEAR AND WORTHY SIR,—I arrived at my old lodgings, Mrs Cunningham's Tea Warehouse, No. 25 Upper Seymour Street, the corner of Adam's Street, Portman Square, last Friday sen'night, late at night, and should have done myself the pleasure of writing to you before now, but have been very indifferent ever since.

"I have brought the plate of Mr Byrd's canon which I promised you, and the other Gentlemen of the Society of Musical Graduates to make a present of, and shall be glad if you will be so kind as to

St George's Chapel, Windsor, 1632-97, certainly styled the *Kyrie* "*Miserere*" in his services in A minor and E flat.

[1] Alcock here alludes to the "Graduates' Meeting" formed in 1790 by Dr Dupuis for purposes of social intercourse between musicians resident in London.

let your man fetch it, as I have no person I chuse to trust with it. I shall be extremely happy to meet you and the rest of the Gentlemen when it is my friend's Dr Dupuis's [1] treat, as it is the nearest to me, I having been dangerously ill ever since Christmas.

"Mr Saville gives his most respectful compliments to you, and desired me to tell you that if you will send him the whole account (I think he said of our Dean's three sets and his own), he will send you a draft for the money the first convenient opportunity.

"I find Mr Cooper has not, as yet, paid his subscription money. He now lives in Gray's Inn Place, the end of Warwick Court, opposite Turnstile, Holborn. He dines at home every day at four o'clock, and drinks tea before he goes to the office again, which is just by.—I am, Dear Sir, your most unfeigned and very humble servant, JOHN ALCOCK.

"*P.S.*—Pray be so kind as to present my most respectful compliments to all my worthy friends that you meet with. I heartily wish you and your family health and long life. I am now four-score (and six months) years of age, being born April 11th, 1715, and come to spend this winter in my native place."

Samuel Spofforth, a younger brother of Reginald Spofforth, the distinguished glee writer, was organist from 1807 to 1864. Notwithstanding his long reign, he has left nothing in the way of composition beyond two or three double chants. He was a type of the easy-going cathedral organist of the old school, barely known outside his actual sphere of duty. He lies buried in the grass plot south of the Lady Chapel.

[1] Dr T. S. Dupuis, organist and composer to the Chapel Royal, 1779-96. He was then living at King's Row, Park Lane. This was one of the "Graduates' Meetings" before alluded to.

Spofforth was succeeded in 1864 by Thomas Bedsmore, and he in turn seventeen years later by Mr John B. Lott, under whom the music at Lichfield Cathedral has acquired a celebrity far beyond its *locale*. The services are performed with much beauty and solemnity both musically and ritually. The emoluments of the vicars choral of Lichfield have long been considered the best in England. Thus they have been the means of obtaining the services of several distinguished singers, among whom may be mentioned John Saville (1755),[1] John Spray (1785),[2] Samuel Pearsall (1831),[3] William Machin (1839),[4] and William Grayson (1863). This individual excellence is maintained at the present day, and in

[1] In Saville's time it was the duty of the lay Vicars Choral to read the First Lesson at matins and evensong. Saville's reading was always accounted a great feature. He died in 1803. His monument in the south transept bears a poetical inscription from the pen of Miss Anne Seward.

[2] John Spray obtained in 1795 the posts of Vicar Choral at the cathedrals of Christ Church and St Patrick, Dublin, and became the contemporary of Sir John Stevenson. In his day he was accounted the finest tenor singer in the British Empire. He received the degree of Doctor in Music, *honoris causâ* from the University of Dublin. He died in 1827, and was buried in St Patrick's.

[3] Samuel Pearsall was, at the time of his death in July 1883, the senior Vicar Choral of Lichfield. Prior to the rise of Sims Reeves, he was esteemed as a leading tenor of the day. A reference to programmes of the principal London and provincial concerts and festivals will demonstrate the position he held in the world of song. He was the editor of a Psalter pointed for chanting, and a not-to-be-forgotten association was his well-known "Musical Lecture," in which he was assisted season after season by the various members of the Cathedral choir. He was buried in St Michael's churchyard.

[4] William Machin, with whom Pearsall was associated in his work, both sacred and secular, was a magnificent bass. In the late 'forties he obtained, through the influence of Sir Robert Peel, the post of Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. He was also one of the lay vicars of Westminster Abbey, and a member of the choir of the Temple Church. He died in September 1870. Mr Robert Hilton, the present occupant, succeeded to his stall at Westminster.

few cathedrals in England are certain of our older anthems with their elaborate solos and verse-parts given with so fine an effect as in that of Lichfield.

Visitors to this cathedral should contrive to attend the morning service on a Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday, because on those days the Litany, chanted by a priest vicar and a lay vicar at the desk outside the screen, is sung to one of a cycle of five settings—*i.e.* Tallis', the Ferial or Archbishop Cranmer's Litany, King's, Loosemore's and Wanless'. It was a happy thought of Mr Lott to prepare for publication with interesting prefaces the Litanies by the three above-named seventeenth-century composers. King was organist of New College, Oxford (1664-80); Loosemore of King's College, Cambridge (1627-70); and Wanless of York Minster in 1691. The beautiful setting by Loosemore in D minor made a deep impression upon me when visiting Lichfield a few years ago.

It should not be forgotten that Michael Este, a contributor to the famous collection of madrigals known as "The Triumphs of Oriana," was organist, Vicar Choral, and Master of the Choristers about 1618. One of the most distinguished choristers was Elias Ashmole, who was born at Lichfield in 1617. He founded the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. In a book entitled "The Life of Elias Ashmole, Esq.," occurs the following entry in his diary:—"Mr Henry Hinde, organist of the cathedral [Lichfield], who died the 6th of August 1641, taught me the virginets and organ." Hinde was, in all probability, the successor of Michael Este.

From 1840 to 1842 the Rev. Thomas Helmore was one of the five Priests Vicars Choral,[1] holding at the same time the curacy of St Michael's Church. His name calls to mind the early days of the Catholic revival, and what he did for the restoration of the

[1] Now reduced to four.

Church's ancient song. His highly cultivated voice placed him at the head of the list of vicars choral or minor canons at that time in England. His expressive method of singing Tallis' Litany is still remembered at Lichfield, the *Agnus Dei* especially being a masterpiece of vocalisation.[1]

Among past Sub-Chanters, the Rev. William St George Patterson will perhaps be longest remembered. He held office from 1845 until 1890. He was a clever man, and in many ways an enthusiastic and zealous church musician. Unfortunately, his zeal was not always tempered with judgment. A stained glass window has lately been erected as a memorial to him. One of Mr Patterson's predecessors, the Rev. John Fletcher Muckleston, D.D., who held the post from 1789-1843, combined in his person the offices of Prebendary, Sub-Chanter, Priest Vicar, and Divinity Lecturer, Prebendary of Wolverhampton, and Vicar of Wybunbury, Cheshire! He composed some chants, sanctuses, responses and other pieces for the use of his choir.[2]

It should not be forgotten that Lichfield was the first to open its doors to those diocesan meetings of parochial choirs, of which every English cathedral is nowadays the centre.[3]

The idea was worthy of the highest praise. The

[1] On his resignation of the Priest-Vicarship in 1842, Helmore became Vice-Principal and Precentor of St Mark's College, Chelsea. In 1846 he was appointed by Bishop Blomfield to succeed William Hawes as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, retaining the post until his retirement in 1886. This was the first instance of the appointment of a master in holy orders since the Reformation.

[2] The cathedral possesses a fine collection of MS. and printed church music. Amongst its greatest treasures are seven out of the ten vocal parts of the famous collection made by the Rev. John Barnard, Minor Canon of St Paul's in 1641, now excessively rare.

[3] Ely, Peterborough, and Southwell were among the earliest to follow the lead of Lichfield, which has celebrated the jubilee of these gatherings this year.

cry against cathedrals arose quite as much through indifference to them within the church, as through enmity without. The cathedral was nothing to the diocese, and the diocese in return cared nothing for the cathedral; no better place could have been devised for bringing home to the scattered portions of a necessarily large diocese, the value—it might almost be said the existence—of its cathedral, than one which calls upon every parish that shows care for the public worship of Almighty God, to send its trained singers to join their bishop, surrounded by his principal clergy and laity in one united service.

At the inaugural festival held at Lichfield on 6th October 1856, though the internal arrangements of the cathedral were in process of alteration, yet the capabilities of the building and the existence of the cathedral staff, without the means at its disposal, alone rendered it possible to invest the service with dignity and beauty, such as could not fail to elevate and impress those whose highest idea of worship had hitherto been that of a town parish church.

At these purely church celebrations, the number of those taking part, and their position in the building, are alike fatal to individual display. There may be many excellent singers taking their part, but the tritons of the parish find themselves minnows in the cathedral. Given a brilliant summer's day, no sight can be imagined more stirring than the massing of a vast procession of surpliced singers in the cathedral precincts with their crosses glittering in the sun, and their banners gently stirred by the breeze; or as it wends its way

"Through gate and porch and columned aisle,"

with the diocesan, *in pontificalibus*, to the strains of one of those hymns with which the great revival of true ecclesiastical music has rendered us so familiar.

The choir of Lichfield Cathedral, exclusive of the

Lady Chapel, is of eight bays, three being apportioned to the *chorus cantorum*,[1] three to the presbytery, and the remaining two to the retrochoir or *via processionûm* behind the high altar.

Three phases of Pointed are employed in this long graceful eastern limb; First Pointed, just emancipated from the Transitional, in the first three bays; Early Middle Pointed in the Lady Chapel; and Late Middle Pointed in the six bays connecting the Lady Chapel with the old *chorus*, in the clerestory and in the vaulting. The junction of the two styles in the third pier from the west on the north side may be advantageously studied.

There is no triforium, unless the passage above the low arcades and the strip of wall relieved by shallow cinquefoiled arcades under the clerestory windows can be called such. These last are of unusually grand dimensions, and when they retained their original curvilinear tracery, and possibly stained glass, must have presented a series of unequalled beauty. The reveals of these windows have the somewhat unusual enrichment of a continuous string of quatrefoils,[2] but the rather coarse rectilinear tracery with which nearly all were filled, either by Bishop Blyth early in the sixteenth century, or by Bishop Hacket in the seventeenth, is detrimental to their beauty. Such early fourteenth-century tracery as remains is of so graceful a Flowing Decorated character as to make

[1] Until the choir was lengthened in the fourteenth century this was under the central tower, what is now the *chorus—i.e.*, the first three Early English bays—forming the presbytery. At Lichfield a system of eastern extension for the purpose of giving greater splendour to the altar of the Blessed Virgin and the shrine of St Chad, was carried out on lines very similar to that pursued a little later at Wells, as described in my chapter on that cathedral in the previous volume. In both cases there was a short Early English eastern limb which it was determined should not be entirely removed, but brought into harmony with the new work.

[2] It occurs in the transepts of St Mary, Redclyffe, Bristol.

one hope that it may some day give the key to the restoration of the remainder.

The choir was dealt with after the Restoration in the most extraordinary manner possible. The columns of the Early English portion had been octagons with a triple shaft on each side. The fourteenth-century architect had removed the shafts facing the choir, in order to gain room for his stall work, and had corbelled his vaulting shafts above the capitals.

No notice was taken of either of these dates, and by the help of cement, spikes, and tar cord, the columns and arches towards the choir had been converted into copies of those in the nave. Moreover, the heads of the arches, which, it will be recollected, had been walled up, were obscured by a grisly imitation of Gothic panelling. When Sir Gilbert Scott commenced his operations, the ancient work and walls had been partly removed, and the mutilated work behind it presented the most difficult enigma. Although the original design was absolutely recovered, some parts of it were found through remains so slight that, though conclusive, their interpretation was a work of intense difficulty.

Pennant, who paid a visit to Lichfield shortly before the "improvements" of 1788, says in his "Journey from Chester to London":

"On each side of the choir are six statues, now much mutilated, placed in beautiful Gothic niches, and richly painted. The first on the left is St Peter, the next is the Virgin Mary, and the third is St Mary Magdalene, with one leg bare, to denote her legendary wantonness; the other three are St Philip, St James, and St Christopher with the Christ on his shoulder."

All these mutilated statues, which were entirely removed in 1788, were reproduced as accurately as possible through private munificence, by the chisel of Mr Farmer, at the restorations of 1858-61.

The whole choir pavement of mixed marble and tiles, representing some ancient designs which were discovered at Lichfield, will repay examination. That in the bay composing the sanctuary is laid with a series of subjects drawn from the history of the cathedral incised in mastic, on circular slabs of Hopton stone, after sketches suggested by the Rev. E. R. Pitman, Headmaster of the Rugeley Grammar School (1860). The whole space is divided into four divisions, in each of which is a main subject in a large circular panel with portrait heads of other intermediate or posterior events, partly illustrative of those which are specifically figured, disposed in a St Andrew's cross.

It is impossible to dwell in detail here upon this series of subjects, whose only fault is that in the early mediæval ones representing St Chad, Archbishop Theodore, and Bishop Clinton, the various personages appear in that sort of conventionalised Early Pointed, imitated from glass paintings, which Pugin made popular in his sacred vignettes.

More chronologically correct is the panel devoted to the Reconciliation of the Cathedral by Bishop Hacket. Here there is no attempt to mediævalise, so the Bishop and his attendants appear in dresses such as they really wore—especially an inimitable verger, in trunk hose, who struts with the mace over his shoulder, as much as to say, "We have got the cathedral back, and we don't mean to lose it again!"

The reredos of alabaster and varied marbles found in the diocese, if not so rich in sculptured groups as the earlier one of the same school at Ely, is certainly a most graceful conception of Sir Gilbert Scott's, and looks extremely well where it is, being just sufficient to break up the great length of the choir without impeding the view beyond. On either side of it is a series of six gabled arcades, which, from the time of the erection of the reredos in 1863 until five years ago, were open. On the advice of Mr G. F. Bodley,

they have been equipped with alabaster figures representing martyrs of different orders, sculptured by Messrs Farmer and Brindley from the cartoons of Mr Kempe, greatly, it must be confessed, to the improvement of the *ensemble.*

The canopies of the four sedilia "are of Late Fourteenth Century work," says Mr Sheriff Harradine,[1] in the seventh edition of his admirable little Hand Guide to the cathedral. "These originally formed part of the great altar-screen partly destroyed in the time of the Civil Wars. In 1678 a Grecian altar-piece of wood, 24 feet high, with the King's Arms on the top, was erected in front of it. Both remained until 1788, when they were removed so as to throw the choir and Lady Chapel into one. The remnants of the earlier one were used for an organ-screen, which occupied the first bay of the choir, and remained there until the restoration in 1856-61. When taken down, six of the canopies were worked up to form the sedilia. Three more are placed over the monument of Dean Howard, and the rest are put away in the cathedral stone yard."

Leaving the Lady Chapel for the present, we may turn to examine the subsidiary buildings on either side of the choir, all of which display Early English work as graceful as any in the country.

The Chapter-house, entered from the north aisle by a vestibule whose walls are enriched with a double arcade containing thirteen seats (where it is possible the pilgrims sat whose feet were washed on Maundy Thursday) is an elongated octagon. In style it is somewhat later than the Early English portion of the choir and transepts, and in its style, which in many features recalls the more majestic house at

[1] The present head verger and sub-sacrist, to whom it is but justice to say, that he manifests a very laudable and unusual regard for the fine church committed to his charge.

Lincoln, may be said to take up ground intermediate between the transepts and the nave. As a work of its age, the Lichfield Chapter-house ranks high among buildings of this class, of which there is no parallel instance in Continental architecture.

The later Early English of its style is proclaimed chiefly by its windows, in whose two acutely pointed uncusped lights we perceive an adumbration of tracery.[1] The groining ribs descend upon a continuous circular abacus, resembling the base of a second pier, which crowns the exquisitely foliaged cluster of shafts comprising the central column. Between the windows, the ribs descend upon corbels of sculptured foliage, and below them is a continuous arcade of forty-nine arches richly moulded, and springing from slender attached shafts.

Modern skill has corrected the indifferent repairs that were carried out in this part of the cathedral early in the last century. The armorial stained glass, designed by one who was ignorant of the science of heraldry, has been almost entirely removed: work representing figures and groups illustrative of the history of the diocese inserted in lieu of it; and the stonework repaired. From the vestibule a doorway originally led straight into the Close, but it was long ago blocked up.

The lowness of the Lichfield Chapter-house is attributable to the story introduced above it, a unique feature approached by a circular staircase. It is not quite clear what this apartment was originally used for. The old brick library, erected by Dean Heywood[2] towards the close of the fifteenth century, near the Deanery, was pulled down in 1750. The existing library suffered greatly during the Civil

[1] They may be compared with those in a contemporary work, the south transept of Rochester Cathedral.

[2] 1492. "T. Heywood decanus ob., triennio ante mortem 40 libras in capitulo donavit ad ædificationem Bibliothecæ latericiæ juxta domum Decani."—"Anglia Sacra," i. 454.

War, as it was upon its roof that the central spire fell when it was battered down by the Parliamentary forces. Here is a remarkably interesting collection of books, the nucleus of which was formed by a bequest from the Duchess of Somerset (daughter of the Earl of Essex, beheaded by Queen Elizabeth) in 1673. At different times it has been added to and enriched by gifts from the clergy and others connected with or interested in the diocese.

Admirers of Samuel Johnson should ask to be shown the volume of "South's Sermons," containing pencil marks by the Doctor, from which he made many quotations in his Dictionary. Also an MS. with Sir Christopher Wren's signature, being apparently an account for painting and colouring some part of the cathedral. Just before his signature Wren states that it is "a true copy of the bill taken out of the books of the officers of His Majesty's Works at Scotland Yard, for which Mr Stooper is paid."

Here, amid many other curious relics of bygone ages, may be seen the seven-branched candlestick which stood on the altar when it was removed into the Lady Chapel. It bears the inscription, "Jno Cocks fcit. Birmingham, 1812," and figures in old prints and early photographs of the cathedral.

In the south aisle the most interesting feature is a projecting stone gallery in Late Pointed, with gracefully arcaded front, which may have been used for various purposes: such as watching the lights burning continuously before the shrine of St Chad; exhibiting the relics of the Saint to the assembled pilgrims below; and for the Seven Best Boys to chant the *Gloria Laus et Honor* from on Palm Sunday.

Behind this gallery is the Early English "Chapel of St Chad's Head," long a ruin, but restored in 1896 through the exertions of the present Dean, to whose taste and judgment the cathedral owes so much of added beauty, and its services their increased reverence and dignity.

Beneath the gallery just alluded to is the sacristy, which in all probability is of earlier date than the rest of the Early English work. It also forms the Consistory Court, and above the bishop's chair is some of the excellent seventeenth-century canopy work, so ruthlessly ejected from the choir in 1814.

Of the Lady Chapel it is not too much to say that, next to that of Wells, it is the most graceful building of its kind produced during the Edwardian period of English architecture. It shoots out beyond the lean-to aisles of the choir to the length of three bays. Of these, the westernmost is wider than the other two. The whole terminates in a three-sided apse, whose introduction, at a period when that feature had almost entirely disappeared from English architecture, may not unreasonably be supposed to have been suggested to Bishop Langton on his way home from the Holy Land, by some of those deep aisleless choirs, with tall windows—such as those at Meissen and Naumburg in Upper Saxony—that were becoming so universal in Germany.

This Teutonic character, if I may be allowed to say so, of the Lady Chapel at Lichfield, is accentuated by the wonderful Flemish glass with which its windows are now entirely filled; by the graceful altar-piece in the form of a painted tryptich, and by the statues of Holy Women which now fill all the niches between the tall graceful windows. Shortly after the insertion of the glass from Herckenrode, which was only sufficient to fill seven of the nine windows, the larger four-light window on either hand on entering the Chapel was equipped with stained glass representing the arms of bishops and dignitaries of the cathedral from the sixteenth century to the commencement of the nineteenth. The arrangement of all this glass was undertaken by the Rev. W. G. Rowland before mentioned, his gratuitous and successful labours being rewarded by Bishop Cornwallis, who collated him to the

prebendal stall of Curborough. The mechanical part was entrusted to Sir John Betton.

About ten years ago, some stained glass, bearing the arms of the kingdom of Arragon, and believed to have been brought from the Low Countries between 1840 and 1850 and deposited in Messrs Christie's cellars, where it lay forgotten, came to the knowledge of Mr C. E. Kempe, by whose advice it was purchased for the cathedral by the executors of the Marquis of Ely.

This glass has now been placed in the two great windows at the west end of the chapel in lieu of the armorial work just alluded to, and experts have pronounced it to be of the same school as the glass from Herckenrode. It bears among other mottoes the well-known one of Charles V., "plus outre"—*i.e.*, "plus ultra."[1]

The altar-piece put up by Wyatt at the extremity of the Lady Chapel rose considerably above the cill of the central window. When this was removed between thirty and forty years ago, it was found that the portion of window behind it had not been glazed. This deficiency had now to be supplied, but so skilfully was the work accomplished by Mr Thomas Grylls, that it needs the eye of an expert to detect the difference between the old and new work.

One of the greatest treasures possessed by the cathedral is the famous MS. of St Chad's gospel. Mr Henry Yates Thompson, having long regretted that this priceless object should lie unseen by the public in the Cathedral Library, proposed to the Dean and Chapter that it should be brought down into the church, offering at the same time, if his proposal was accepted, to make due and worthy provision for its safe custody. This having been

[1] The insertion of plate glass on the interior of these windows is a questionable improvement.

acceded to, a handsome table of Verde antique marble was lately made and fitted with a bronze and glass case at a cost of nearly £200. Now every visitor to the cathedral can see the venerable MS., with a description of the whole, and its several illuminated pages. These gospels of St Chad consist of an imperfect manuscript containing the gospels of St Matthew and St Mark complete, and that of St Luke down to chapter iii. 9, in Latin, written about A.D. 700, in mixed uncial and minuscule characters of Irish type, on one hundred and ten leaves of thick vellum, with twenty lines to a page.

Of the numerous beautiful objects enshrined in Lichfield Cathedral perhaps none is more generally enquired for, or has such a fascination for the visitor, than Sir Francis Chantrey's "Sleeping Children" at the east end of the south choir-aisle. Perhaps there is not a more exquisite group in the whole range of modern sculpture than this.

The sisters — daughters of the Rev. William Robinson, Prebendary of the cathedral and Rector of Swinnerton (d. 1812)—lie asleep in each other's arms in the most unconstrained and graceful repose. The snowdrops[1] which the youngest had plucked are undropped from her hand, and both are images of artless beauty, and innocent and unaffected grace.

Such was the press to see these children in the exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1817, that there was no getting near them. Mothers, with tears in their eyes, lingered, and went away, and returned, while Canova's now far-famed figures of Hebe and Terpsichore stood almost unnoticed by their side.

There was a current report that the design for this monument was supplied by Stothard, but all the particulars of its composition have been faith-

[1] The introduction of these flowers was suggested to Chantrey by his friend and assistant, Allan Cunninghame.

fully recorded in Rhode's "Peak Scenery." A request accompanied the commission from Mrs Robinson, that Chantrey would see the monument, by Banks, to the memory of Sir Brooke Boothby's daughter, in Ashbourne Church, previously to making his design; as she wished to have *something like it.* Chantrey obeyed these directions, the author of the "Peak Scenery" being in his company, and the same evening he made, at Ashbourne, the design which, with scarcely any variation, was subsequently executed in marble.

Chantrey's "Sleeping Children" has formed the theme of several pens.[1]

Perhaps the most beautiful and expressive lines on it are those by the Rev. William Lisle Bowles, whose *Sonnets*, first published in 1793, contributed to form the taste and call forth the genius of Coleridge, whom they "delighted and inspired" by "their genial influence of a style of poetry so tender, and yet so manly — so natural and real, and yet so dignified and harmonious." As Bowles' works, which doubtless had much influence in hastening on that love of true ecclesiastical art which has since so marvellously developed, are not now very generally remembered, I cannot more appropriately close this chapter on Lichfield Cathedral than with his lines on *The Sleeping Children.*

"Look at those sleeping children!—softly tread,
Lest thou do mar their dream; and come not nigh
'Till their fond mother, with a kiss, shall cry,
'"Tis morn, awake! awake!' Ah! they are dead!
Yet folded in each other's arms they lie—
So still—oh, look! so still and smilingly;
So breathing and so beautiful they seem,
As if to die in youth were but to dream
Of spring and flowers!—of flowers? yet nearer stand,—
There is a lily in one little hand,

[1] Notably those of Mrs Hemans, the Rev. Osborne Gordon, Miss Jean Ingelow, the Rev. W. Sewell, and T. J. Ouseley.

Broken, but not faded yet,
As if its cup with tears was wet!
So sleeps that child,—not faded, though in death;
And seeming still to hear her sister's breath,
As when she first did lay her head to rest
Gently on that sister's breast,
And kiss'd her ere she fell asleep!
Th' archangel's trump alone shall wake that slumber deep.
'Take up those flowers that fell
From the dead hand, and sigh a long farewell!
Your spirits rest in bliss!
Yet ere with parting prayers we say
Farewell for ever! to the insensate clay,
Poor maid, those pale lips we will kiss!'
Ah! 'tis cold marble! Artist, who hast wrought
This work of nature, feeling, and of thought,—
Thine, Chantrey, be the fame
That joins to immortality thy name.
For these sweet children that so sculptured rest,—
A sister's head upon a sister's breast,—
Age after age shall pass away,
Nor shall their beauty fade, their forms decay:
For here is no corruption,—the cold worm
Can never prey upon that beauteous form:
This smile of death that fades not, shall engage
The deep affections of each distant age!
Mothers, till ruin the round world hath sent,
Shall gaze with tears upon the monument!
And fathers sigh, with half suspended breath,
'How sweetly sleep the innocent in death!'"

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

THE SOUTH SIDE

CHAPTER II

GLOUCESTER

THE cathedral of Gloucester is more than ordinarily interesting, as being one of the very few conventual churches of the highest class which escaped the havoc of the Dissolution.

Its rulers appear to have been perpetually attentive to the repairs and decorations of their church, and to have employed artists of singular skill and abilities at every period. Hence it happens, not only that specimens of every variety of style from the severest Anglo-Norman to the richest Perpendicular are to be found in this cathedral, but that these specimens are all very perfect of their kind; and that the assemblage of the whole, though successively erected during a period of four hundred years, is grand and harmonious.

In the different styles which it exhibits, singularities are to be found at Gloucester, not met with in any other church in this country, and their interest is enhanced by the knowledge that few English cathedrals have more authentic records, and that few in their traditions and architecture have been more satisfactorily investigated than Gloucester, from Abbot

Froucester in the fourteenth century[1] to Professor Willis in the nineteenth.

It is almost impossible to go at any time into this glorious church, no matter how often the visit may be repeated, without discovering some new feature of beauty, evidence of thought, and clever adaptation and contrivance, almost necessarily brought about by the continuous alterations from one style to another, and from the masking of the older forms of work.

My first impression of the interior of Gloucester Cathedral will not readily be effaced. I was spending the vacation with some relations resident in one of those charming villages, that, watered by the Windrush, nestle among the Cotswolds, and, although we set out early one glorious August morning, the service had commenced ere we could reach the scene of attraction.

The last strain of the Psalms to one of those Double Chants which roll with such grandeur through the long-drawn aisles of an English minster, died away along the vaulted roofs, as our little party set foot within the vast and awe-inspiring Norman nave, where we remained, admiring its spacious majesty, during the reading of the First Lesson. The voice of the reader was faintly audible, but presently it ceased: the heavy curtain shrouding the entrance to the choir was drawn aside, and the glorious *Te Deum* in E of Samuel Sebastian Wesley burst forth, "sweetest as from best voices." Quite overpowered by the combined magnificence of that Perpendicular veil that has been thrown over the Norman arcades and triforium, and of the music, we sank for our preliminary devotions into stalls to which we had been ushered by a venerable verger.

[1] The valuable MS. chronicle of Froucester was abstracted from the Cathedral Library early in the last century, but was discovered in 1879 in the possession of a Berlin bookseller, from whom it was only redeemed by the Chapter at a great cost.

As on the conclusion of the service we wandered during the brilliant summer noontide amid this galaxy of art, wealth and genius—once the church of a mitred Benedictine Abbey [1] which ranked among the mightiest and wealthiest in the land—we felt that no one of this important trio had been absent, when in pre-Reformation days this majestic house rose up in all its sovereign beauty.

Time and neglect laid their defacing fingers on this fair pile, but that is now happily—for the most part—a thing of the past, and Gloucester Cathedral now rears its head in much of its pristine splendour.

In all my wanderings through the cathedrals and abbeys of Northern Europe, I have never been more charmed than when on this my first visit to a building whose very defects seem to have contributed to its graces, and which in its several portions presents an epitome of Pointed Art in its successive stages through a period of five centuries.

It is, moreover, remarkable as having preserved its Norman ground plan almost entirely unchanged in spite of the singular metamorphosis its eastern portions underwent during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The religious establishment at Gloucester connected with the Abbey Church of St Peter, is supposed to have been founded by Wulphere, King of Mercia, about the middle of the seventh century. The buildings of that period commenced by him were completed by Osric (a Viceroy of King Etheldred) for the use of nuns, and three abbesses are mentioned, under whose successive rule it continued until 767. From that time until 821, owing to civil wars and disturbances in the kingdom, the house seems to have been almost deserted.

In 821 Bernulph, King of Mercia, repaired the

[1] The first abbot to receive the mitre was Walter de Froucester about 1381.

buildings, and placed secular priests there in the room of its former occupants the nuns, which priests were afterwards expelled by Canute, and Benedictine monks introduced in 1022 when Edric was appointed Abbot.

In 1058 Edric was succeeded by Wulfstan, who was consecrated by Aldred, Bishop of Worcester; and it is from about this time that the architectural history of the present buildings may be said to commence.

As years rolled on the house increased in wealth and splendour, addition after addition being made under successive abbots down to the end of the fifteenth century. Then came the dissolution of the house, the creation of the See of Gloucester, and the reconstruction of the Chapter on its present basis.

The church erected by Osric in the seventh century is stated to have been destroyed by fire about the middle of the eleventh. A new church was then built by Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, on a different site, and was consecrated by him and dedicated to St Peter.

Thirty years later this structure also is said to have been entirely burnt down, and to have been rebuilt by Abbot Serlo, who completed his work in 1100.

Serlo's church, of which a great portion remains to this day, must, in its original state, have been a remarkably grand and impressive, but severe piece of early post-Conquest work. It consisted of a spacious nave for the lay-folk, with arches supported on cylindrical pillars 30 feet high and 6 feet in diameter, low triforium, clerestory, and flat roof of wood; of short transepts, with a polygonal chapel on the eastern side of each; of a choir, formed as now under the central tower; and of a polygonally terminated presbytery raised upon a crypt, and differing from the nave in having low bays opening into its aisles surmounted by a spacious triforium of the same depth and height, and above that a

clerestory. The aisles and triforia were continued round the east end as at Norwich, and from the ambulatory both above and below three chapels opened out. The Chapter-house, of which three compartments remain, was also of this period, and in all probability had an apse.

During the twelfth century this Norman church was repeatedly damaged by fire, traces of which are still discernible in the huge cylindrical columns of the nave, which are all more or less calcined. Thus we read in the old chronicles of 1102:—"Ecclesia S. Petri Gloucestriæ cum civitate igne cremata est, cum abbatiâ. Non plus quam IIj monachos invenit Serlo Abbas."

Again, in 1122, the town of Gloucester was burnt while the monks were singing their mass; then came the fire in the upper part of the steeple and burnt all the monastery, and all the treasures that were in it, except a few books and three Eucharistic vestments.

Hitherto the central portions of the church had only wooden ceilings. In fact, it was this continued risk from fire created by these combustible coverings which renders the early annals of nearly all our great churches little more than a record of successive conflagrations and restorations that gradually forced the twelfth and early thirteenth century builders to attempt that rash leap, the vaulting over wide spaces, which, once made, proved far more easy of execution than had been supposed.

At Gloucester it was not until the abbacy of Henry Foliet (1228-43) that the first great architectural change took place, the substitution of the present groined roof of the nave for the flat Norman one.

Of simple, yet good Early English character, it was completed in 1242.[1] Its material is a light porous kind of stone, the deep plain cells being

[1] Completa est nova volta in navi ecclesiæ Gloucestriensis non auxilio fabrorum, ut primo, sed animosâ virtute monachorum.

plastered on the under side probably with a view to polychromatic decoration.

The groining ribs spring from two tiers of Early English shafts in graceful clusters of three. The upper series is on a level with the triforium, while the lower, corbelled off upon heads, serious and grotesque, extends downwards into the spandrils of the arches. From the traces of colour and gilding that have been discovered upon these shafts, as well as upon the bosses and ribs of the vault, it would appear that these features were once profusely decorated.

A south-western tower was in progress at the same time as the nave vaulting, but all traces of it disappeared when, early in the fifteenth century, Abbot Morwent lengthened the nave by about 20 feet, minding, if he had lived, to have made the whole nave of his work.

The former Lady Chapel was erected between 1224 and 1227 "in the cemetery," by Ralph de Wilintone and his wife, the only portions of which now remaining are the Early English windows in the crypt, inserted in the Norman work.

During the abbacy of John Thokey (1306-29) the whole exterior of the south aisle of the nave was erected with the exception of the lower part of the wall, which, with the half-piers on the inside, are all that remains of the Norman work. The roof was also revaulted by Thokey, who desired probably to preserve intact the Norman vault (then similar to that still existing in the north aisle); and as the south wall had inclined outwards, and the whole fabric of this aisle was from this cause in danger, he erected large buttresses to prevent further settlement; but, failing in this design, he was compelled to take down the Norman vaulting, substituting others of the same style of architecture as the buttresses he had just erected.

Such great care could scarcely have been taken

in those days to preserve the Norman piers only; the first object must have been to retain, for economical reasons, as much as could possibly be kept of the old aisle. It may be remarked also that as the Norman half-piers incline, in some cases, as much as one foot towards the south, and the buttresses of Thokey also incline in the same direction from 3 to 4 inches in their whole height, a certain amount of additional evidence is thereby given to the above hypothesis, as the abbot's buttresses must have gone out of the perpendicular after their first erection, or else the present vaulting would show settlement, which it certainly does not.

The tracery of Abbot Thokey's range of windows, rich in the ball-flower ornament, seems, with its stiff mullions enclosing trefoils and crossing one another at right angles, to foreshadow that complete, sudden and unprecedented change in the former history of English Pointed architecture which took place in this part of the country about the same time that the architecture of the Continent had begun to deviate into the less pure forms of the Flamboyant. At the very moment when in other parts of England the forms of window tracery began to be most flowing and graceful, when the risk apparently was an excess of riot similar to what was beginning to prevail abroad, the whole spirit and appearance of our national architecture changed. A new style all at once prevailed, of which the leading characteristic was the prevalence of vertical lines, and it was at this juncture that an event happened which was destined to almost completely transform this simplest and severest of churches into one of the most sumptuous.

Not a few of our cathedrals owe their elongation and enrichment to that eagerness to give a high place to, or afford shrine room for, the relics of some saint upon whom popular devotion, in some instances local, was fastened. Thus to St Thomas

à Becket we owe that graceful Trinity Chapel, with its Sens-like transversely coupled columns and its circular "Corona," at Canterbury. The exquisite six-bayed Early English portion of the choir at Ely arose mainly from the offerings poured into the shrines of St Etheldreda and her sainted relatives. The same cause made possible the glorious "Angel Choir" at Lincoln, where St Hugh was held in such honour.

To St William, who was venerated at York, to St Chad at Lichfield, and to St Wulfstan at Worcester, we owe the grandly expanded choirs of those cathedrals, while the shrine of St Richard was no doubt mainly responsible for that graceful curvilinear window in the south transept at Chichester.

It is, however, singular to reflect that the florid magnificence of the eastern parts of Gloucester Cathedral are due indirectly to devotion to one of the unworthiest of English monarchs. I refer to Edward II., who, when he had run through his course of evil, lost his crown by a lawful sentence, and his life on St Matthew's Day, 21st September 1327, by unlawful violence in the neighbouring Castle of Berkeley, was brought here by Abbot Thokey for interment, when, from fear of Queen Isabella and her party, Bristol, Kingswood, and Malmesbury refused to receive his body.

As it turned out, this was a politic stroke on the part of Thokey, but of all strange forms of devotion, surely one of the strangest was that which saw a saint and martyr in King Edward II., yet to that abnormal worship the greater part of the transepts and choir of the church owe their present form.

One feels half inclined to put it the other way, and to make a new count in the articles of deposition against the unhappy king, that his misguided devotees have deprived us of the minster of Serlo in its perfect form, and hindered us from studying the contrast which we should otherwise have been able to mark

between its eastern and western portions. In other words, the sepulture of Edward II. in the north aisle of the choir of Gloucester Abbey in 1327 was the means of adding so enormously to the funds of the church, from the offerings made at his shrine, which, architecturally unimpaired, still charms us with its gracefulness, that they would have sufficed to rebuild the entire structure.

Works of a novel character commenced in the south transept[1] soon after the king's burial. There was a simple massive Norman church to be dealt with which, it was determined, should not be pulled down, but transformed by the removal of windows; by veiling the internal surface with work in that style of architecture which was so rapidly developing itself out of the Decorated, that at Gloucester it may be said to have come in with a rush, and with little or no attempt at articulation or transition; and by replacing the old Norman clerestory of the choir by one which should give greater dignity and grandeur to the most sacred part of the church.

When it is remembered that that mighty wall of jewelled glass, the east window, was completed by 1350, the choir of Gloucester Cathedral must be regarded as the very *incunabula* of Perpendicular.

Despite a certain poverty of detail there is a marvellous gracefulness about the white stone veil that has been drawn over the solemn Norman arcades and triforia with their demi-terceau vaults so strongly reminiscent of Western French work, and the apparently intricate, but really simple lierne vault stretched over the whole, that criticism is disarmed. At a *coup-d'œil* this choir of Gloucester Cathedral is perfectly overwhelming, though as a work of art it can hardly compete with the naves of Winchester and Canterbury, or with the choir of York.

[1] This, the earliest known approach to Perpendicular work, dates from 1330-37.

The north transept assumed its present form between 1368 and 1373. The cloisters were in progress from 1350 to 1412. The west front, the two western bays of the nave and the south porch, the work of Abbot Morwent, were completed at the time of his death in 1437. The tower was first under the care of Abbot Seabroke (1450-57), who removed the Norman one, and afterwards under that of a monk named Tully, by whom in 1457 it was completed, as appears from an inscription above the western arch of the lantern :

> "Hoc quod digestum specularis opusque politum,
> Tullii hæc ex onere Seabroke Abbate jubente."

The latest work is the Lady Chapel, which is so skilfully attached to the choir that it hardly obstructs the light from the great east window, the west end of the chapel being contracted in breadth and height so as to form a vestibule. The curious passage or thoroughfare under the east end of the chapel is easily explained. When the present Lady Chapel was built, towards the end of the fifteenth century, it was carried out to the full extent of the abbey land, as may be seen by tracing the lines of the old walls. The passage was then constructed so that it was possible to pass from the north to the south of the grounds without going round the end of the cathedral.

On 2nd January 1540 the abbey was surrendered to Henry VIII. by the Prior, Gabriel Morton. Fortunately, however, Gloucester was one of the places named as seats for the six new bishoprics, otherwise its noble abbey church might have shared the fate of Glastonbury and Tintern, of Abingdon and Evesham, of Jervaulx and Rievaulx, of Fountains and Whitby.

In 1541 a Bishop (John Wakeman, the last Abbot of Tewkesbury), a Dean, and Prebendaries were appointed, and the church rededicated to the Holy and Undivided

Trinity. Gloucester Cathedral had another narrow escape during the Commonwealth. Its total destruction was intended, and the persons who designed it had agreed among themselves for their several proportions. The work of destroying the Little Cloister and of the Lady Chapel had begun, and instruments and tackle had been provided for taking down the tower, but, owing to the exertions of Mr Dorney, and the influence of Captains Dunn and Pury and Mr Shepherd, with Cromwell, it was presented to the Mayor and Burgesses in 1657.

In the exterior view of Gloucester Cathedral, which I have selected for illustration, there is little beyond the turrets flanking the south transept to remind us of its Norman origin. From this point it appears to be one of the finest illustrations of the capacities of the Perpendicular style, and of the alliance of the ogee curvature and strongly asserted vertical lines. At Gloucester, where the style seems to have sprung into existence on the spot, and is worked in a spirit totally different from that at Canterbury, Winchester, and York, the ogee arch is triumphant everywhere in the fourteenth and fifteenth century work. Inside, there are the flying arches across the main arches of the tower. Outside, we have the bold ogee, which forms the label over the vast east window; the ogee label over the west window; and the ogee arch which overrides the parapet of the south porch[1]—both Morwent's work; the ogee heads on Seabroke's central tower, and the Singers' Galleries, and ogee cusping in the windows throughout.

At Gloucester, as at Worcester and Salisbury, the flying arches which pass through the windows of the transepts are conspicuous in the view. At Old

[1] This was almost entirely rebuilt forty years ago, when the niches above and around the entrance were refilled with statuary by Redfern. The disappearance of the old sun-dial from the niches over the door, with its motto, "Pereunt et imputantur," so familiar in old engravings, was regretted by not a few.

St Paul's, the necessary support was obtained by flying buttresses, visible externally—a simple, straightforward method which by no means impaired the beauty of the fabric generally; but they furnished Wren with a strong argument for the condemnation of the tower when called in to report upon it shortly after the Restoration.

The whole exterior of Gloucester Cathedral, with its stately central tower, is a standing proof that the English architects excelled in detail, while they were not daring aspirants like those of the Continent. They set gravely to work, and finished all they had begun, because they had measured aims and a measured compass, and did not strive after the unattainable. Thus it has come to pass that we have no unfinished cathedrals as the French, Germans, and Italians have, and so it is that all our buildings—whether cathedrals, parish churches, or houses—are of homely compass, and their effects calm and in nowise strained. In our richest late work — as, for instance, at Gloucester — where, although there is great complexity of surface enrichment and a multiplicity of ascending lines, there is still a perceptible air of control, there is method in all our madness. However much the architects who at divers times added to or enriched this marvellous Western cathedral may have tried to dominate our spirits by the range of their lines, we feel that it is by a strong volume of harmony and a clear accentuation of parts that they fascinate and hold us spellbound. There is no capricious self-assertion, or struggle for supremacy of each several part.

Had the fourteenth-century architect at Gloucester been minded to carry his choir to the exaggerated height of an Amiens or a Cologne, we should not have had that central pinnacled tower rising in majestic dignity above the smoke of the busy city beneath it, and which moves us by a delightful

sensation of something grand, solid, sublime, substantial, and enduring; something raised above this mundane atmosphere, and superior to all its weary cares and toils and its restless changes and chances. Under the influence of such an object, particularly of that under which I have often seen it, rising up like some great wave-washed cliff against a sky of purest cobalt, the mind is raised upward and receives a foretaste of that heavenly Jerusalem, the pure, unsullied delight which we may hope to enjoy after the labours of this life in the blissful Sabbath of eternity.

There is abundant evidence of the fact that in bygone days Gloucester Cathedral was celebrated for its bells. There was a bell foundry here as early as Edward III.'s reign, and documents, now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Ely, tell us that Master John of Gloucester cast four bells for the octagonal lantern of that cathedral in 1345. In Abbot Parke's Register there is a copy of an agreement between the Abbot and Thomas Loveday, bell founder, dated 1527, in which the latter

"hath covenanted and bargayned with the Abbott to repayre a chyme going uppon eight belles, and upon two ympnes, that is to say CHRISTE REDEMPTOR OMNIUM[1] and CHORUS NOVÆ HIERUSALEM,[2] well, tuynable, and wokemanly, by the Fest of All Saynts next ensuinge, for which the seid Abbott promysseth to pay the seid Thomas Loveday four marcs sterlinge at the fynisshemente of his seid repayre."

It would appear that at the dissolution of the abbey, the bells were allowed to remain, for an indenture (A.D. 1553) between the King's Commissioners and

[1] The Office Hymn for Christmas at Matins in the English and Foreign Breviaries.

[2] The Office Hymn for Saturdays at Vespers in Easter-tide.

the Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester (John Hooper), shows that

"the seid Commission have redelyvered unto the Deane and Chapter one great bell whereon the clock strykithe, and eight other bells whereuppon the chyme goeth."

"It is unfortunate," says Mr C. Lee Williams,[1] in some interesting notes prefixed to his harmonised arrangement of the four tunes now played by the bells, "that no documents can be found giving reasons why the tunes played by the chimes should have been changed, but we may presume that the two 'ympnes' (hymns), '*Christe Redemptor*' and '*Chorus novæ Hierusalem*,' were played up to 1680, to which date the present chimes can be traced."

The four tunes now played by the Gloucester bells are set in the key of C minor, the ring being tuned in the key of E flat, and the great bell giving low C. One of these melodies was composed by Stephen Jeffries, organist of the cathedral from 1680 to 1712. He is buried in the eastern walk of the cloisters. In his "History of Music" Sir John Hawkins tells us that

"there is a Gloucester tradition that Mrs Jeffries (to cure her husband of the habit of staying late at the tavern) drest up a fellow in a winding sheet, with directions to meet him with a candle in the cloisters, through which he had to pass on the way home; but that on attempting to terrify him, Jeffries only expressed his wonder by saying, 'I thought all you ghosts had been in bed afore this time!'"

A second melody was composed by Dr William Hayes, a chorister boy of Gloucester Cathedral, afterwards organist of Worcester Cathedral, and

[1] Organist of Gloucester Cathedral from 1882 to 1897.

Professor of Music at Oxford (d. 1777.) A third, composed by Dr Stephens, is perhaps the most solemn of the quartette. Stephens was likewise a Gloucester chorister boy, afterwards becoming organist of Salisbury Cathedral. He acted as conductor at the Gloucester Festival of the Three Choirs in 1766, when an anthem[1] of his was first publicly performed.

The fourth melody was composed by Malchair of Oxford, who appears to have taken a leading part in the band, at the Triennial Festivals from 1759 to 1775.

Dr Cleveland Coxe, the poet-bishop of Western New York, relates in his "Impressions of England," how on his visit to Gloucester, he was awakened at a late hour of the night by the chimes of the cathedral clock "charming the darkness with a solemn tune, and lifting the thoughts of the listener to communion with his God."

With one of these "solemn tunes" lingering in the ears, let us enter the awe-inspiring Norman nave with its "antique columns massy proof," and its stained glass, which, if not altogether of the highest order, confers that "dim religious light" so essential to the enjoyment of a Gothic interior.

Seven arcades of the nave are Serlo's work, while the two most westernly form part of that great scheme of re-edification contemplated by Abbot Morwent. As far as it has gone, the work of this Abbot is good, and had it been fully carried out, there can be no doubt that a series of Perpendicular columns and arches reaching nearly to a height of 40 feet would have produced a very imposing effect, but from an historical point of view the stoppage of the work is not to be regretted.

Owing to the abutment of the cloisters on the

[1] In all probability it was, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy," published in a volume of cathedral music by Stephens, under the editorship of Highmore Skeats, organist of Canterbury Cathedral (1804-31), in 1805.

north side of the nave, the windows in that aisle are placed high up in the wall, and, except that the Norman framework of these windows has been filled with Perpendicular tracery, this aisle has retained its original character very completely, the roof being a particularly fine specimen of late eleventh-century vaulting. In the south aisle the Norman vaulting shafts remain, but the groining was altered to Decorated work—part of it rich in the ball-flower ornament, when Abbot Thokey added his exterior wall with its series of niched buttresses and range of windows, which is perhaps unequalled as such by any other in England.

When, nearly half a century ago, the restoration of Gloucester Cathedral was set on foot, the Chapter, in a moment of mingled wisdom and despair, gave the order for a grand clearance, and swept away from the great circular piers of the nave a crowd of monuments which disfigured the memories of many respectable citizens worthy of a better fame. Another order, the filling of the windows with stained glass, was not equally happy, for in giving Thokey's unique range their complement, a most generous indifference was exercised, the work being entrusted to several artists. Thus, the opportunity for a fine scheme of iconography, carried out on one uniform plan, was thrown away, and the result is a discordant medley of subjects ranging from the Crucifixion to the Murder of Edward II., and varying in character from the highest merit of that most delicate art down to its most unhappy misuse. The best windows of the series are the two historical ones representing the Coronation of Henry III. in the Abbey of Gloucester, and the interment there of Edward II. They are by Clayton and Bell, and as early specimens of those artists' works, deserve much praise. The glass in the two Perpendicular windows at the west end of this aisle is excellent, as is most of that in the north aisle, despite a certain want of uniformity. In the third and fifth windows the student of mediæval glass will

find some pieces admirably restored by Hardman, who has done the same service in the upper east window of the south transept. In the clerestory there still lurk some fragments of ancient glass.

The great nine-light window completely filling the west front above the doorway is a fine specimen of early fifteenth-century Perpendicular, and the work of Abbot Morwent. Unfortunately the stained glass which fills it has caught neither the tone nor the spirit of the many beautiful specimens of ancient vitreous decoration preserved in this cathedral, and which should have been taken as models. This is to be regretted, since the window forms a memorial to one who was not only a good man, but who, as far as lay in his power, did much to promote the ecclesiological movement, though not connected with any of the architectural societies — Dr Monk, Bishop of Gloucester from 1830 to 1856.[1]

In these cases the blame cannot always be laid upon the artist and executant, as frequently so much well-meant but misplaced sentimentality is permitted to pervade the work, a cause to which a deal of the unsatisfactory work in stained glass produced since the revival must be attributed. Stained glass should be simply an architectural decoration, schemed out by an architect, harmonising with the surrounding work, and capable of being executed to a great extent by workmen whose powers are little above being purely mechanical.

These qualifications the stained glass in the great west window of Gloucester Cathedral cannot be said to possess, for, instead of following out such a scheme as that presented by the great west window of St George's Chapel, Windsor, for example, in which the positive colours are so sparingly used that they flash forth with a jewel-like brilliancy from the environing

[1] Some particulars respecting this prelate will be found in the second volume in the chapter on Peterborough Cathedral, of which he was some time Dean.

grisaille, we have a series of commonplace groups overloaded with positive colour.

William Wailes, the artist in stained glass to whom this Monk memorial window at Gloucester was entrusted, was born at Newcastle in 1809. He was one of the earliest and most zealous of those pioneers who strove to rescue the art from the bathos into which it had fallen at the commencement of the last century, and to bring back to it something of that character which it possessed at the beginning of the sixteenth. In this endeavour Wailes was aided by Pugin, for whom he executed a good many windows between 1840 and 1850, notably those at the east and west ends of the great church built by the latter at Lambeth. A coolness, however, arose between the two men, but Wailes' training under Pugin stood him in good stead, and for some time he adhered to the traditions of that great regenerator of our ecclesiastical architecture.

Subsequently, instead of turning to old examples, Wailes was content to work on upon the material bequeathed to him, which year by year became more and more diluted, and its loss by dilution being unsupplied by any infusion of fresh strength, he sank, for the most part, into a commonplace prettiness, though, when under proper architectural supervision, could do some really excellent things. No real art can stand against a constant high pressure and working against time, and it is by both these influences that so large a proportion of the work, not only of Wailes, but of others who have enjoyed a similar popularity, have become damaged.

Some of Wailes' best productions in London may be seen in the apse of St John of Jerusalem at South Hackney, an imposing church in thirteenth-century Gothic, built between 1845 and 1848 from the designs of Mr E. C. Hakewill through the instrumentality of its rector, Rev. H. H. Norris, one of the best Churchmen of his day and generation. Wailes' Jesse

window above the high altar in the Roman Catholic church, Farm Street, is rich and imposing, but inferior to the one executed about the same time for Pugin at St George's, Lambeth, being rather too modern in feeling. At St Matthias', Stoke Newington, he executed the stained glass in the great east window, under the superintendence of Butterfield, who insisted on white as a groundwork for the dignified figures of apostles grouped about the Majesty. At Ely, where he was constantly under the eye of Sir Gilbert Scott and Canon Sparke, Wailes did some excellent work, particularly in the lancets at the east end of the presbytery, and in the Curvilinear Decorated windows of the choir.

A window in the bay of the south aisle of the nave at Norwich Cathedral may be cited as an excellent example of Wailes' work on a small scale, also the circular one above the high altar in the Roman Catholic pro-cathedral at Clifton, which at a first glance might be taken for a veritable well-preserved specimen of fourteenth-century French work.

In the window over the western arch of the tower —an unusual position for one, but rendered necessary in this case by the choir being 20 feet higher than the nave, some stained glass, which from its unobtrusive position escaped the Puritans, existed until 1679, when, because it contained a "scandalous picture" of the Holy Trinity, it was removed. Prebendary Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, is reported to have broken it in pieces with his own hands. This window is now filled with old glass collected from various parts of the cathedral.

The last bay of the nave is occupied by the organ-screen, a very favourable specimen of the Perpendicular of 1823. Much of its good appearance is doubtless owing to the fact that a considerable portion of it belongs to, and formed part of, the old screen work which, as at Norwich, St Alban's and other great monastic churches, crossed the east end

of the aisles in a line with this, the ancient "pulpitum" of the monks, and which was pulled down when Dr Griffiths, one of the Prebendaries, erected the present choir-screen.

Its predecessor was one put up early in the eighteenth century, and alluded to by Horace Walpole in one of his letters to Bentley, as designed by Kent, "who knew no more than he did anywhere else how to enter into the true Gothic taste."[1] This, coming from one who took the pattern for the hall and staircase at Strawberry Hill from Prince Arthur's Chantry in Worcester Cathedral (rather an undignified appropriation of this fine monument), and who built a "cloister" at the same card paper house at Twickenham, which was really nothing more than three low arches better fitted for a dog-kennel or an aviary than for an ambulatory, was rich indeed!

The same "Admirable Crichton" of his day dismisses Gloucester Cathedral very summarily, merely remarking that "it is beautifully light, the pillars in the nave outrageously plump and heavy"; but dwells with some particularity upon "a modernity which beats all antiquities for curiosity."

"Just by the altar is a small pew hung with green damask, with curtains of the same; a small corner cupboard, painted, carved, and gilt, for books, in one corner; and two troughs of a bird-cage with seeds and water. It belongs to a Mrs Cotton, who, having lost a favourite daughter, is convinced that her soul is transmigrated into a robin redbreast; for which reason she passes her life in making an aviary of the cathedral at Gloucester. The Chapter indulge this whim, as she contributes abundantly to glaze, whitewash, and ornament the church."

[1] The view of the nave looking east in Storer's "Cathedrals" was taken just before the removal of this screen. Britton's view shows the screen as at present.

THE CHOIR LOOKING WEST

GLOUCESTER . . CATHEDRAL

The Dean and Chapter of that day must have been most indulgent to the lady's feelings; we may easily suppose what would be the reception of a similar request at the present day.

This pew formed part of the Renaissance fittings introduced into the choir between 1707 and 1719 by Dean Chetwoode, who fortunately left the splendid range of fourteenth-century stalls with their returns, backs, and canopies untouched. To judge from some remains which have been used to form a *chorus cantorum* for the nave services, this woodwork must have been a fair specimen of its epoch.[1] It included an altar-piece which was removed in 1807, and Perpendicular panellings substituted from the designs of Sir Robert Smirke.[2] Dean Chetwoode's altar-piece was sent to St Mary's, Cheltenham, where it remained until that church was restored early in the 'sixties. It was then taken back to Gloucester, and put away in the triforium of the cathedral.

The present reredos, consisting of three sculptured groups by Redfern[3] beneath spiral canopies, was completed in 1873. Its effect was at first somewhat cold, but since the application of colour, and the more seemly arrangement of the altar and its ornaments, its appearance is much improved.

The splendid sedilia—four on the south side, with rich but mutilated canopies—were restored in 1873, and statues by Redfern placed in niches above the canopies.

In its original state the ground storey at the east

[1] The altar rails have been partially utilised to fence off the tomb of Edward II. from the north aisle of the choir.

[2] In Wild's drawing of Gloucester Cathedral made about 1830, this Perpendicular panelling is shown, also the eighteenth-century pewing put up under Dean Chetwoode. The pulpit is represented as standing in the centre of the choir, a position not unusual in parish churches at that time, but unique in cathedrals. The present pulpit is a quiet and unobtrusive work from the designs of Richard Carpenter (d. 1855). The eighteenth-century pulpit is now in the nave.

[3] For some account of this sculptor, *see* vol. i., p. 273 of chapter on Bristol.

end of Gloucester Cathedral must have resembled that still existing at Tewksbury, where, however, the circular Norman columns were heightened, when the choir was altered early in the fourteenth century.

At Gloucester the eastern bay of the choir on either side inclines outwards to allow of the great east window being erected on part of the outer wall of the original Norman apse which was removed in 1337. The bases and lower parts of the shafts of two great round pillars of this Norman apse were discovered during the restorations of 1870-73. They still remain beneath the floor. In making these investigations some fragments of the old reredos were discovered, together with the curious sunk area —a feretrum for relics, probably—behind it (with the steps leading to the same), from which was an entrance to the space beneath the high altar. In the vault above it are two circular apertures through which, according to some authorities, the monks drew up with wire or ropes on Holy Thursday, the representation of Our Lord's Ascension into heaven, whilst a chant was sung. Brereton, in his "Travels" (*temp.* Charles I.), however, says that "over the higher end of the quire in the false roof, there is still remaining a round hole so contrived as that the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove seemed to descend even over the high altar; upon whose lighting flames of fire ascended from a close concave place about four or five yards long, and a yard broad, formed beyond the high altar, and furnished with pitch, resin, and other combustible matter, and you may behold the walls smoked over as a chimney."

A somewhat similar subterranean chamber was discovered under the lantern of Oxford Cathedral in 1851; and is supposed to have been connected with curious effects of light mentioned in the miracles of St Frideswyde.

To thoroughly comprehend the alteration of the east end at Gloucester, and its conversion from a Norman apsidal termination into the present great wall of painted glass, the work itself must be seen. Any written description of the exceedingly clever transformation would be tedious, and possibly fail in affording the required information. Suffice it to say, therefore, that it is one of the masterpieces of the cathedral, wonderful for its constructive daring, and most happy in its artistic results.

The largest in the country is the east window of Gloucester Cathedral, which is 72 feet high by 38 wide. But the great wall is partially unglazed, owing to the peculiar construction of the retrochoir and the Lady Chapel beyond. How admirably these enormous lights lend themselves to the arrangement and effect of stained glass is nowhere more evident than here.

It was completed not later than 1350. The general design of the figure work, whose brilliant tinctures flash forth like jewels from the surrounding white glass, is the Enthronement of the Blessed Virgin, and the shields of arms are those of various warriors who had served in the campaign of Cressy. It was conscientiously and conservatively restored in 1862 under the practised eye of Winston by Messrs Ward and Hughes, Dr Jeune, Bishop of Peterborough, and at that time Canon of Gloucester, taking great interest in the work, besides being a liberal contributor towards it.

Such great glass walls as exist at Gloucester and York especially struck Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., when he paid a visit to England in 1430, for they exclusively distinguish the English architects of their time, and are rarely, if ever, found on the Continent, where we find the east end, either in its French form of the chevet with an aisle and radiating chapels, or in its German one of that aisleless apse, which, in reminiscence of the Romanesque niche or semi-dome, reproduced itself in Teuton-land through all the epochs of Gothic.

The stained glass in the lofty four-light windows of the clerestory on either side is chiefly modern, and the work of Messrs Clayton and Bell, who took as their *motif* such ancient fragments as were found remaining. The subjects are full-length figures of Saints and Angels, in which is much white and grey glass, on backgrounds of alternate red and blue. The effect is excellent.

The vaulting in the choir of Gloucester Cathedral is an intricate system of ribs, an absolute network, in which the figures of the ribs is everything and the forms of the intervening spaces nothing. Sir Gilbert Scott, therefore, was quite right when in decorating this vaulting he contented himself with colouring the ribs, and leaving the spaces for the most part plain. Mr Gambier Parry's advocation of just the contrary course shows us what diverse opinions exist on the subject of this kind of decoration. A narrow passage behind and below the glazing of the great east window, and forming a corridor between the northern and southern triforia, is called the Whispering Gallery, mentioned, as a curiosity, by Lord Bacon. It is about 75 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 7 feet high, and is carried on two bridges outside the east window from the triforia to the chapel over the entrance to the Lady Chapel, and until the restorations had the property of transmitting sound along its walls in a powerful and apparently mysterious manner. The lowest whisper of the mouth, if placed close to the wall, the slightest scratch with a pin on the stone, was distinctly heard from one end of the gallery to the other.

This place, like the Whispering Gallery of St Paul's, the echo on old Westminster Bridge, and other similar phenomena in ancient works of Art and situations of Nature, does not require supernatural powers to explain, nor were there any magical arts used in these original formations or contrivances; all may be accounted for on the simple principles of acoustics.

On the wall are inscribed the following lines:

> "Doubt not that God, who sits on high,
> The secret prayer can hear,
> When a dead wall thus cunningly
> Conveys soft whispers to the ear."

The chapel into which this gallery opens was part of the Norman one altered on the building of the Lady Chapel into which it now looks. The present reredos formed part of Sir Gilbert Scott's designs for the partial rearrangement of the choir, whose superinduced Perpendicular work hangs visibly like a robe upon the original Norman body. Sir Gilbert's designs were carried out with all regard for the beautiful woodwork that remained. The stalls and canopies retain their ancient place beneath the central tower,[1] and the organ in its handsome Caroline case has been suffered to remain upon the screen[2] where its woodwork harmonises admirably with that of the stalls below. These with their canopies were carefully restored, and as the old desk fronts and subsellæ had disappeared, new ones were designed, use being made of some remains which had found their way to the Lady Chapel, both as guides and also as a part of the work.

Of course many condemn the organ because it hinders the vista. But without this break the view looking east at Gloucester would be nothing indeed; one would feel inclined to raise the case a few feet. Originally built in 1670 by Harris in conjunction with his son Renatus, it was repaired by Bernard Smith before 1683, considerably enlarged by Willis in 1847, who

[1] This position of the choir, which we are apt to regard as exceptional, is in reality the old and normal one, the tradition of the Basilica, and of the earliest Christian Churches. Thus, St Alban's, Gloucester, Norwich and Westminster represent the primitive tradition, while Lincoln, York, Salisbury and Wells exhibit the more modern and abnormal arrangement, the great ecclesiological innovation of the Middle Ages.

[2] Until 1741 the organ was under the southern arch of the tower.

added a swell of twelve stops, and since then has undergone improvement at various times. Gloucester was the last organistship held by Samuel Sebastian Wesley.[1]

"The last time Dr Wesley played the organ in Gloucester Cathedral," says Mr John E. West, in his "Cathedral Organists, Past and Present," "was on the afternoon of Christmas Day, 1875. Before the service was over he asked his assistant, Mr C. E. Clarke, for an old full score of *The Messiah*, which he kept in the organ-loft, and from it he played as the concluding voluntary the 'Hallelujah' Chorus, an unusual thing for him to do, as he generally extemporised, or played one of Bach's fugues from memory. He never touched the Cathedral organ again, and in April of the following year the gifted brain and clever fingers were at rest."

He died on the 19th of that month at his residence in Old Palace Yard, and his last words were "Let me see the sky," a fitting request from a man of such high ideals and noble inspirations.

It appears that for some time during the organistship of William Mutlow[2] (1782-1832, best remembered by his chant in B flat, found in several old-fashioned collections), the usual mode of service was altered, and the prayers read instead of being intoned. This unnecessary change was much disliked by many daily attendants at the cathedral service; but under Dean Luxmoore, afterwards successively Bishop of Bristol (1807), of Hereford (1808), and of St Asaph (1815), the original order was restored, and "retained and encouraged by the refined taste and scientific arrangements" of Dean Plumtre.

The lightness and strength of the flying arches between the tower and the transepts should be

[1] *See* vol. i., p. 221. and vol. ii., pp. 156, 158, 160, 249.

[2] From want of space I am unable to retail the several diverting anecdotes about Mutlow. They may be found in Mr West's capital handbook.

noticed as wonderful examples of constructive skill. They are not merely ornamental adjuncts, for by them a great portion of the weight of the groining is borne.

It is in the Norman crypt of about 1080, which is entered from the south transept and extends under the whole of the choir, that we can best realise what the original plan of the east end of the cathedral was: viz., an apse with three small apsidal chapels radiating from the ambulatory, and two chapels east of either transept.

Above each of these chapels were two others; that immediately over the eastern chapel was removed during the Perpendicular alterations. Here we find segmental or elliptical Norman arches with others also Norman, built beneath them for support, and the groining of the vault ribbed. In the south-eastern chapel is a rich Norman arcade.

The aisles and ambulatories of the eastern limb, in which, from the Perpendicular screen work thrown across the low Norman arcades opening from them into the choir, there is a peculiar feeling of isolation, show, together with the triforia, the original plain Norman work. All the windows have, however, been enlarged, and filled with Decorated or Perpendicular tracery, chiefly with an internal cusping only, as is the case with the great east window.

St Andrew's Chapel, which opens out of the south transept, is chiefly remarkable for its ancient reredos, in which the sculpture has been restored and the whole clothed with colour by the late Mr Gambier Parry.[1]

[1] It will be remembered that this artist completed the great work of painting the ceiling of the nave at Ely when it was left half finished by the death of Mr Lestrange in 1862.

No visitor to Gloucester should fail to see the neighbouring Church of the Holy Innocents at Highnam, built between 1849 and 1851 at the sole expense of Mr Gambier Parry from the designs of Henry Woodyer. It is an example of pure scholar-like design, which, without pretending to any striking originality, in general composition or treatment of detail, reveals itself at first sight as genuine work of its class. The tower

This is not a restoration of ancient designs, and the chapel may be regarded as a very good example of what can be effected by working in the spirit of the old colourists, without that slavish submission to them which is so often advocated.

St Paul's Chapel, correspondingly placed on the north side, and like that of St Andrew approached by picturesque flights of steps, has also a reredos which was one of the most perfect as regards repair in the cathedral. The figures of Saints Peter, Paul, and Luke which now fill the niches are by Redfern, and the stained glass is by Burlisson and Grylls.

St Philip's Chapel in the south ambulatory has been coloured by the last-named artists, and stained glass inserted in the windows by Clayton and Bell. The subjects are figures of saints, with small illustrations below from their lives, or miracles. Except St Peter, St Philip, and St George, all the figures are those of English saints, the black Benedictine habits of St Augustine and the Venerable Bede being admirably treated.

In the northern aisle, opposite the tomb of Edward II., is a stained glass window designed by a master mind, and executed by a master hand. In this instance it was Mr C. E. Kempe who carried out the ideas of the late J. D. Sedding.

The picture of the Last Judgment, now in the southern triforium, was discovered 25th November 1718, against the eastern wall of the nave, behind some wainscotting adjoining the seats occupied by the clergy when sermons were preached in that part of the cathedral. It probably dates from the end of the reign of Henry VIII., but is of no high interest or excellence.

I have already alluded to the skilful manner in which the Lady Chapel has been attached to the

and spire are exquisitely proportioned, and the interior is enriched with mural paintings from Mr Gambier Parry's own hand.

main fabric so as not to interfere with the light from the great east window.

A truly graceful piece of work carried out during the abbacies of Hanley and his successor Farley (1457-98), this Lady Chapel at Gloucester forms a fit *comble* to that series of architectural triumphs which had been in almost constant progress since the beginning of the twelfth century.

The vestibule, which is lower and narrower than the rest of the building, is vaulted with pendents in the form of a cross. In the Chapel itself, the fine Perpendicular roof, with its net-like ribs meeting in bosses of foliage; the tabernacle work of the reredos; the ancient stained glass in the nine-light window which completely fills the east end; the transept-like side chapels with elegant fan traceried vaulting, partly supported by flying arches like those in the choir; all these excite our organs of veneration and wonder, as does the whole of this extraordinary cathedral, at every step.

It is almost a relief to turn from this rich feast of Perpendicular work, with its wealth of wall and window decoration, to a simple yet exquisitely graceful piece of Early Thirteenth Century work in the north transept, whose real use has afforded opportunities for disputation between antiquaries and ecclesiologists, some being of opinion that it was intended for a reliquary, while others incline to the belief that it was a lavatory, a not unusual feature in a mediæval church.

In making the tour of Gloucester Cathedral some fresh glory awaits us at every step. Now it is the cloisters that claim our attention. They lie on the north side of the nave—a not very usual position in England, and of their style are the finest and most perfect in the country. Commenced in 1351 by Abbot Horton with the eastern side, and finished in 1412 by Abbot Froucester, the walks, each 145 feet long by 12 feet 5 inches wide, and 18 feet 6 inches

high, they form a quadrangle, each divided into ten compartments.

The construction of the outer walls is peculiar as to the arrangement of the buttresses and the projecting shelf of stone connected with the transoms of the windows, which appears to have been devised as a protection from the weather; for the lower half of the windows was not glazed. In the southern walk are twenty cells or recesses for study called the Carols, and on the north side is the Lavatory, with screens for towels — conveniences placed near the refectory, which stood on the north side of the cloister, and was upwards of 100 feet long by 35 broad, and was built in 1246.

The eastern walk, the first erected, has nine windows of eight lights, and one of four; others have ten windows of six lights apiece, and their tracery is reproduced on the walls opposite to them. All have been filled with stained glass by different hands;[1] the fifth window in the eastern walk, by Hardman, is interesting as being the first modern one erected in the cathedral. The chief glory of these cloisters at Gloucester is, of course, that fan vaulting which was nowhere carried to greater perfection during the Third Age of Pointed architecture than in England; indeed, it may be considered as quite insular.

Two very amusing anecdotes are related concerning these splendid cloistral appendages at Gloucester. One is always told with great gusto by Rev. E. Bartleet, Rector of Dinsley, of some old dames who paid a visit to the cathedral under his guidance. After he had told them what the monks did, where they performed their devotions, their ablutions, took their meals, and so on, one mother lingered behind, and, on shaking hands with her pastor, told him

[1] In pursuance of a praiseworthy scheme, set on foot half a century ago for checking the disfigurement of the cathedral by monuments of any other description.

she could appreciate all he had imparted to them about the monks more than the other dames, "because, you see, sir, my old mother used to wash for the Monks." It transpired that the "washing" to which that grateful old "party" referred was that of the family of Dr Monk, Bishop of Gloucester from 1830 to 1856!

The other anecdote is a musical one. Dr Wesley said one day to the choristers: "I'll give half-a-crown to the boy who first finds A flat in the cloisters."

One of their number soon claimed the reward when he told his "master of music" that he had found on a tombstone "G. Sharp, sculp."!

The Chapter-house, a noble parallelogram, partly Norman, with a barrel-vaulted roof, and partly Perpendicular, also richly groined, opens out of the cloisters in the accustomed manner from the eastern ambulatory. At Gloucester, as at Canterbury, we may study with more advantage than elsewhere in the country the domestic arrangements and ground-plan of a great Benedictine house.

Here, too, we may walk among ruins, but the destruction, however caused, has not been recent, and nothing can exceed the care with which every fragment of ancient work is guarded and preserved. The north side of this great church presents a series of views which are among the most striking and picturesque in England. Colour, outline, grouping —all are delightful. And, thanks to the labours of modern archæologists, we can follow with certainty the disposition of the several monastic buildings.

CHAPTER III

ROCHESTER

"The massive grey square tower of an old cathedral rises before the sight of a jaded traveller. The bells are going for vesper service, and he must needs attend it, one would say, from his haste to reach the open cathedral door. The choir are getting on their sullied white robes in a hurry, when he arrives among them, gets on his own robe, and falls into the procession filing into service. Then the Sacristan locks the iron-barred gates that divide the nave from the choir, and all of the procession, having scuttled into their places, hide their faces; and then the intoned words, 'WHEN THE WICKED MAN'—rise among groins of arches and beams of roof, awakening muttered thunder."—DICKENS' "Edwin Drood."

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL is one of the most ancient in England, and owes its foundation to the piety of Ethelbert, King of Kent.

Originally a heathen, he had married Bertha, daughter of Caribert, King of Paris. The princess was a Christian, and was attended to England by a bishop named Luidhard, through whose teaching and exemplary life many of the courtiers were converted to the faith. The way was thus made smooth for the arrival of St Augustine and his brethren, whom St Gregory sent from Rome to convert the Anglo-Saxons in 596. So well did these missionaries succeed in their holy labours that, within three years after their arrival, many

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thousand converts were baptized, and numerous churches erected. Ethelbert first of all founded the Metropolitan See of Canterbury, and soon afterwards, at the instance of St Augustine, the bishoprics of London and Rochester. The *Textus Roffensis* and other authorities inform us that Ethelbert founded the church of St Andrew of Rochester in A.D. 600.

This Saxon church was in all likelihood a simple parallelogram with a very large eastern apse, and stood, with its end half in the north side of the present nave and the rest reaching in a southernly direction beyond. In fact, every time we enter Rochester Cathedral by its north-western door we are treading upon the foundations of the apse of this Saxon church, as we know from recent archæological discoveries that have been made,[1] but how far it extended in a south-westerly direction has not been precisely ascertained.

This simple Saxon basilica was the burial place of several of the very early bishops. St Paulinus was interred in or near the sacristy; St Ithamar in the nave; and Tobias in the porch of St Paul, which he had himself erected as the place of his burial. The monastery at Rome, from which he was sent, was dedicated to the same apostle; and this circumstance has been supposed to furnish a reason for the selection of him as the patron saint.

The *Textus* likewise informs us that King Ethelbert gave to the church "a piece of land called 'Prestfeld,' and all the land which is Medu Waie, as far as the east gate, in the south part, and other lands outside the city wall, towards the northward." Upon this piece of land there subsequently arose the monastic buildings, of which but scanty remnants have descended to our own day. The three most famous Saxon bishops of Rochester were Justus, Paulinus and Ithamar. The first named was a Roman by

[1] In 1888, when the west front was underpinned preparatory to its restoration by Mr Pearson.

birth, and was despatched to England by St Gregory in 601, to assist St Augustine in propagating the faith.

On the death of King Ethelbert, which took place on the Feast of St Matthias, 24th February 616, his son Eadbald relapsed into heathenism, and compelled a surrender of all the lands with which his father had endowed the church. The persecutions of the apostate king drove Justus into exile; but on the reconciliation of Eadbald, he returned to his See, at which he remained till 624, when he succeeded Mellitus in the patriarchal chair of Canterbury.

Paulinus, the second occupant of the See of Rochester, the companion of St Augustine and Justus, has already been alluded to in the chapter on York Cathedral. He was consecrated Archbishop of York in 625 and was mainly instrumental in effecting the conversion of the Northumbrian King Edwin. Driven from York on the victory over Edwin by Cedwalla, King of the West Saxons, and Penda, King of the Mercians, 12th October 633, he was forced to accept the vacant See of Rochester, which he held till his death, 10th October 644. Bede gives a graphic portrait of St Paulinus in the second book of his Ecclesiastical History, representing him as "vir longæ staturæ, paululum incurvus, nigro capillo, facie macilenta, naso adunco pertenui, venerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu."

St Ithamar, the third most notable Saxon Bishop of Rochester, was the first Englishman to hold the See. He died in 655, equalling, in the judgments of William of Malmesbury and Edmund de Hadenham, any of his predecessors.

The former speaks of him as "Anglus quidem ortu, sed in quo nihil perfectæ sanctitates quantum ad vitam, nihil elegantiæ Romanæ quantum ad scientiam desiderares."

After Ithamar, a long line of bishops sat at Rochester[1] of whom there is little to record, until we arrive at

[1] The last Saxon bishop was Siward, who was not removed from his See at the Conquest. He died in 1075.

one whose name is ever on our lips, when visiting the ancient city by the Medway—Gundulf. A monk of the royal abbey of Bec, near Rouen, he was invited by the conqueror to fill the See which had been vacated by the death of Arnost, also a monk of Bec, and by whom it was held little more than a year. Gundulf was consecrated Bishop of Rochester on the 19th March 1077, by Lanfranc. He was a prelate, not so much distinguished for his eminence in learning, as for his remarkable industry and unwearied zeal in promoting the interests of the church. He removed the secular canons from the Priory of St Andrew, and replaced them with monks of the Benedictine Order, and by the assistance of his patron, Archbishop Lanfranc, he acquired money sufficient to rebuild his cathedral church, and to enlarge the monastic buildings. The period of Gundulf's accession to the See of Rochester was a great and important one in the history of English church architecture. The chief seats in the majority of the cathedrals and abbeys had been bestowed upon Normans, who almost immediately commenced the re-edification of their churches and dependent buildings on a scale of greater magnificence. Thus, Lanfranc was busy at Canterbury, Carileph at Durham, Simeon at Ely, Serlo at Gloucester, Losinga at Norwich, Walkelin at Winchester, and Thomas of Bayeux at York.

Gundulf, who died in 1108, had begun a similar scheme at Rochester, and although the work may have made some progress under his immediate successor Radulf, it was not until the appearance upon the scene in 1115 of Ernulf, who[1] like his great

[1] At Canterbury, of which Ernulf was Prior under Archbishop Anselm, he rebuilt the choir of Lanfranc, and made it so splendid, with glass windows, marble pavements, and paintings in the roof, that its equal could not be seen in England. At Peterborough, of which he subsequently became Abbot, Ernulf made great architectural improvements.

predecessor, was an accomplished architect, that the Norman portions of the cathedral assumed the form which we see to-day. He held possession of the See for nine years, and died at the age of eighty-four, on 15th March 1124.

The Norman church, planned by Gundulf, and carried on by Ernulf, had a square end opening into a small rectangular chapel containing the tomb of St Paulinus, and extended to a little more than half-way across the present eastern pair of transepts. It had narrow transepts, the *chorus* extending across them into three bays of the nave. Then there came a vacant bay, and then screens extending right across the nave, as at Norwich, Gloucester, St Alban's, and other great monastic churches. Against the nave screen stood the altar of St Nicholas. At the end of the south aisle was that of St James, and in a corresponding position on the north was that of St Giles. There does not appear to have been a central tower. The nave consisted of nine bays, or, with that opening to the transepts, ten. The high altar stood between the second and third bays from the east end, and lower down was the choir altar. There was, as at Canterbury, a much elevated crypt. The Norman choir was cut off from the aisles as now, but beyond them there were four open arcades. In lieu of a central tower, there was a detached campanile in the angle formed by the north transept with the choir, and a portion of this, Gundulf's tower, as it is still called, exists to this day. It was balanced by a small tower against the eastern wall of the south transept.

The Chapter-house, of which some fragments remain, extended considerably beyond the east end of the choir on the south side. It exhibits the usual arrangement of a central doorway at the west end, between two wide openings with three large windows above it. The cloister lay along the whole length of the choir east of the south transept. To the south

of the Chapter-house was the monk's cloister. South of this lay the refectory, and along the western side of the cloister, the cellarer's lodgings.

From this sketch it will be seen that the plan of the Norman cathedral at Rochester was unique in the disposition and arrangement of its east end, the narrowness of its transepts, the absence of central tower, and the situation of its cloisters, and other subsidiary buildings.

Gundulf's work exists in the five bays of the southern arcade of the nave, but recased on the nave side; in five bays of the south wall; and in one of the north as high as the window-sills; in the great northern campanile; in the western half of the crypt; and, perhaps, in the main part of the walls of the choir, as far as its junction with the eastern transept.

Ernulf, who, as I have stated, had been Prior of Canterbury, and had begun to rebuild the choir there, was made Bishop of Rochester in 1115 and carried on the work which had been begun by Gundulf. His work at Rochester may be traced by its exact resemblance to his work at Canterbury.

Precisely the same ornaments are used at both churches, especially a peculiar kind of plain diaper pattern on the walls which occurs in the passage leading from the north transept to the crypt at Canterbury; and at Rochester in the ruins of the Chapter-house and cloisters, and in the fragments of the eastern bay of the nave which was rebuilt in the thirteenth century, but with the old materials used up in an internal buttress to the central tower, also at the west end of the aisles. The central part of the west front, which gives us some idea of what those of Hereford and Norwich were like, is of later date, as are the nave arcades. Each is of a different date, the work being continued through nearly the whole of the twelfth century.

In this Norman work at Rochester we are most

struck by its extraordinary richness, particularly in the capitals of the variously shaped shafts composing the piers; in the outer order of the five great arches; and in the tympana of the triforium arcade, which like that in the Early Pointed naves of Rouen and Eu, is open to the aisles, treatment of which I cannot call to mind another example in England. It may, however, be questioned whether this is the original arrangement. Most probably the roof behind the arcades, together with that over the aisles forming the floor of the triforium, was removed at a late epoch.

The rich central doorway of the west front is a noble piece of Late Norman work. Its dimensions are much greater than those of the generality of entrances of the same period, and it is exceedingly rich in sculpture. The tympanum contains a grand relief representing the Saviour surrounded by the Evangelists under the emblematic forms described in the Apocalypse. This doorway has suffered most severely in its ornamental portions, from the hands of religious fanatics, who displayed their vile feelings against sacred sculptures by defacing the "Majesty" in the tympanum, and their revolutionary predilections by mutilating the regal statues in the jambs, although no saints were there intended to be represented.

These effigies, which are those of Henry I. and his Queen, are two of the oldest statues in the country, and interesting on account of the paucity of examples of Norman sculpture possessed by us. The statue of the King holds a model of a church, which is remarkable on account of its spire; and from one of the hands of the Queen depends a long scroll, the inscription upon which is entirely obliterated. The long hair, plaited and falling over the shoulders, the common fashion of the reign of Henry I., should be especially remarked.

"As he held it incumbent upon him to call on Mr

Jasper before leaving Cloisterham,[1] Mr Grewgious went to the gate-house, and climbed its postern stair. But Mr Jasper's door being closed, and presenting on a slip of paper the word 'Cathedral,' the fact of its being service time was borne into the mind of Mr Grewgious. So he descended the stair again, and, crossing the close, paused at the great western door of the Cathedral, which stood open on the fine and bright, though short-lived afternoon, for the airing of the place. 'Dear me,' said Mr Grewgious, peeping in, 'it's like looking down the throat of Old Time.'

"Old Time heaved a mouldy sigh from tomb and arch and vault; and gloomy shadows began to deepen in corners; and damps began to rise from green patches of stone; and jewels cast upon the pavement of the nave from stained glass by the declining sun, began to perish.

"Within the grill-gate of the choir, up the steps surmounted loomingly by the fast-darkening organ, white robes could be dimly seen, and one feeble voice, rising and falling in a cracked, monotonous mutter, could at intervals be faintly heard. In the free outer air, the river, the green pastures, and the brown arable lands, the teeming hills and dales, were reddened by the sunset, while the distant little windows in windmills and farm homesteads, shone, patches of bright beaten gold. In the cathedral all became gray, murky, and sepulchral, and the cracked monotonous mutter went on like a dying voice, until the organ and the choir burst forth, and drowned it in a sea of music.[2] Then, the sea fell, and the dying voice made another feeble effort, and then the sea rose high, and beat its life out, and lashed the roof, and surged among the arches, and pierced the heights

[1] Rochester, I may take the opportunity of reminding my readers, is the "Cloisterham" of Dickens' "Edwin Drood."

[2] The Anthem is here alluded to by Dickens.

of the great tower,[1] and then the sea was dry, and all was still."

In 1130 the Norman cathedrals of Canterbury and Rochester being complete, they were both consecrated by Archbishop William de Corbeuil.

At Canterbury the ceremonial was performed, says Gervase, "cum honore et magnificentiâ multû," and in the presence of all the bishops of England, adding, "Non est audita talis dedicatio in terrâ post dedicationem Salomonis;" and in all probability nothing was omitted at Rochester that could give due *éclat* to the function.

Seven years after its dedication, the "Anglia Sacra" informs us, the church at Rochester was burnt. "Ecclesia Roffensis, et tota civitas combusta est, cum omnibus officinis monachorum," and again in 1177. Between the following year and 1199, the refectory and dormitory were built, also the infirmary chapel, the brew-house, prior's chambers, stone houses in the cemetery, the hostelry, the Grange in the vineyard and the stables completed, and the church covered in and in great part leaded. All this was accomplished under Prior Helias of Hereford.

This brings us down to the year 1200, when the first great change took place in the old Norman plan, *i.e.*, the enlargement of the choir to the east, toward which the first impulse had proceeded most naturally from the same quarter in which the first example of a Norman cathedral was given, the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury.

All over the country this elongation was either in progress or in contemplation, and all for the accomplishment of one, if not of a threefold object —increased room for the display of religious ceremonial and the shrine containing the relics of a Saint, and for a chapel called forth by that burst of devotion towards the Blessed Virgin which took

[1] The concluding Voluntary is here alluded to by Dickens.

place early in the thirteenth century during the pontificate of Innocent III.

The example set at Canterbury was speedily followed at Rochester, in so many things a miniature copy of the patriarchal church, and from a somewhat similar cause.

It would appear that in 1201 a Scotch baker from Perth, who was in the habit of giving every tenth loaf to the poor, and who had undertaken a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, intended to visit the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury, *en route*. On the Watling Street, however, he fell among thieves, always on the lookout for wealthy pilgrims; and his murdered body was brought back and solemnly interred in the cathedral at Rochester.

Of course wonders began to work almost immediately at the tomb, and that of St Paulinus, which had hitherto formed the great object of attraction, was eclipsed in popularity. Indeed, with such prodigality were offerings poured into the coffers of William of Perth, who was canonised fifty-five years after his death, that the sacrist, William de Hoo, was enabled to rebuild the whole church east of the Norman transept.

Begun about the year 1215, when great progress had been made not only in the newly developed Early English style, but in the art of construction, the square ended choir of Rochester Cathedral is a singularly fine example of the pure First Pointed style prevalent during the first half of the thirteenth century.

Operations were commenced at the east end, and at a distance from the old Norman one, with an aisleless presbytery of three bays subdivided into six, and of eastern transepts, each with an eastern aisle containing two chapels. Next, a new choir of two bays, also subdivided, was built in lieu of the old presbytery. Then came the replacing of the

Norman north-western transept, closely followed by that of the opposite one. To make this new Early English crossing, the bay opening into the old Norman transept, which, it will be recollected, was very narrow, and the most easternly one of the nave, was removed, and the central tower built high enough to receive the four main roofs against it. If reliance can be placed on prints of the cathedral published before 1825, this stage appears to have been relieved with a trefoiled arcading. Two more bays of the Norman nave were removed and replaced by Early English ones, and there can be no doubt that it was intended to replace Gundulf's and Ernulf's church with one in the style of the day.

At Worcester, where an almost precisely similar reconstruction of the eastern portion of the cathedral was being carried out simultaneously, the prolongation of the Norman crypt was not necessary, as it was subterranean. But at Rochester, where the crypt is as elevated as that at Canterbury, it was necessary to do so, although the ritual use of it had gone out of fashion. We have, therefore, in this crypt of Rochester, not only one of the finest and best preserved in England, but a specimen of Early English groining as carefully worked as that in the superstructure.

It is interesting to note the gradual progress of Early English in the several parts of this cathedral.[1] Thus, in the solemn aisleless presbytery, eastern transept, choir, and north-western transept, we find the style in its pure lancet phase, while in the south transept the large plain two-light windows,

[1] They extended from 1215 to 1240, when the cathedral was dedicated "à dom Ric Ep⁰ et Ep⁰ de Bangor nonis Novembris. Edmund de Hadenham, one of the Rochester Benedictines, tells us that the new choir was sufficiently advanced for the resumption of service in 1227. "Introitus in novum Chorum Roffensem."—"Anglia Sacra," i. 347.

THE CHOIR LOOKING EAST

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL

traceried in the head, which light the end, and the western clerestory, bespeak a decided advance. A similar quatrefoil is introduced into the spandrel of the inner plane of tracery corresponding to that of the window, a slender shaft receiving the two arches.

In the eastern clerestory of this transept tracery has asserted itself; the lights are trefoiled, and there is a larger quatrefoil in the head. The roof here is of wood groined from the stone springers.

Many of the windows in the choir and transepts, both eastern and western, have received stained glass, mostly by Clayton and Bell. The figures of Our Lord between St Stephen and St Philip were inserted in 1860, and are therefore among the earliest works of those artists. Here, archaism has been adopted without stint, affording a striking contrast to the full flowing treatment of the military saints in the opposite windows by the same artists thirty years later.

In the large single lancets which light the east end, the clerestory of the presbytery, and the eastern transepts, Messrs Clayton and Bell have adopted that mosaic style of treatment of which we have so magnificent an example in the eastern windows of St Augustine's Kilburn, though the Rochester windows hardly come up to their standard.

Some of the finest modern glass is in the eastern windows of the south-west transept, where large single figures stand out majestically from a background of grisaille, without any architectural accessories. Of ancient painted glass Rochester Cathedral cannot boast a fragment.

The peculiar form of the south choir-aisle calls for some explanation.

For the main facts I am indebted to the notes made by Sir Gilbert Scott's indefatigable clerk of the works, Mr J. T. Irvine, during the restorations of 1871-75, and to several scholarly papers on the cathedral by Mr St John Hope, F.S.A.

In the Norman church this aisle was merely a narrow passage at the back of the choir,[1] its south side being formed partly by the wall of the south tower alluded to as balancing that of Gundulf on the north. But at the end of the twelfth century it was doubled in width east of the tower. This was effected in a somewhat complicated manner. When Ernulf erected new conventual buildings, the eastern arm of the church was only half as long as the alley of the cloister which the bishop built against it, and the necessary length must have been obtained by building a wall in continuation of the outer wall of the church. But the new Chapter-house did not abut against any building on the north, and there was a space 12 feet wide between its north wall and the line of the church produced.

Now we should naturally expect to find that this width was filled up by a wall in line with the west front of the Chapter-house, but the north wall of the latter shows most clearly that nothing has ever been built against it, and as we have apparently a portion remaining of the plaster floor of Ernulf's cloister, it is difficult to see how the north-east angle was managed. Whatever difficulty existed was, at any rate, got over when the cloister was made anew, after the fire of 1179, by building a wall in continuation of the north side of the Chapter-house to the centre of the east front of the south tower, and against this wall the north cloister alley was placed.

At the same time, that part of the site of the old

[1] A somewhat analogous arrangement exists in the Westphalian Cathedral of Osnabrück. Here the late twelfth century square-ended choir was planned without aisles, accommodation for additional altars being provided by an apse on the eastern side of either transept. Sometime in the fifteenth century these apses were removed, and aisles formed so as to completely encircle the choir, without, however, opening into it. The effect is most singular.

cloister immediately adjoining the church was taken into the choir aisle, which thus became double its former width. This was done before the erection of the choir transept. It seems probable that at first it was merely a sort of outer aisle or lobby between cloister and aisle, the final throwing down of the dividing wall taking place when the eastern extension was built. The necessity of the alteration was evidently felt when the cloister was first removed to the south side of the choir, for the aisle was partly filled with the stairs to the upper church, and there was but little space for the marshalling of processions and other ceremonies.

Another consideration was the roundabout way to the crypt; and a third, the narrowness of the steps in the north aisle, up which pilgrims and devotees climbed to the shrine of St William of Perth. As soon, therefore, as the south aisle could be widened, the north crypt entrance was blocked up, and the stairs carried right across the north aisle, while a new descent was made to the undercroft in the last bay of its south aisle, and the stairs to the upper church moved farther east. These operations were carried out not later than 1227, for the builders of the choir contemplated vaulting the enlarged aisle in four large compartments springing from a lofty detached column.

This fine design was never carried out, but the vaulting shafts remain *in situ*, as do the wall ribs, ornamented with the billet moulding, above the present ceiling.

The great buttress in this aisle against the north wall was rendered necessary to carry the thrust of the sexpartite vault of the choir. On the opposite side a flying buttress was thrown over the north aisle from a great buttress built outside it.

There is no cathedral in England whose choir is more completely cut off from the rest of the church than Rochester. In this respect it resembles

several in North Germany—notably Naumburg and Paderborn.

This was due to the monks, who deemed it advisable to screen off their portion of the church from that of the laity, the division of a mediæval church into a monastic and secular portion being, as was the case here, a very usual arrangement, and it led to many squabbles between the monks and the parish, which often resulted, as they did at Rochester, in the building of a new parish church by the side of the Minster.

Hence, at the top of the steps leading from the south choir-aisle into the eastern transept, we find the two arches on the western side of the latter walled up with a doorway, while at the top of the steps in the north choir-aisle a solid screen with a central doorway was built.

The screen which separates the choir from the nave was originally a thirteenth century work, and of oak. In the fourteenth century this was obscured on its western side by the present stone screen, and on the east by another of wood, the two supporting the rood loft or *pulpitum*. During the restorations of 1872-75 considerable remains of the thirteenth-century screen came to light, together with much of the original colouring with which the inner fourteenth-century one, and the walls below the windows in the choir, were decorated. Following the evidences clearly found, this decoration was reproduced in the form of shields, displaying the crests and arms of all the bishops of Rochester, from Turbin in 1114 to Claughton in 1875, under the direction of the herald, Mr S. T. Tucker, Rouge Croix. One curious exception turned up. At the back of the sub-dean's stall, the first on the right of the choir door, there was a patch of some older decoration in a kind of plaid pattern.

The Dean (Dr Scott) much disliking this, it was not restored, but taken out, framed and glazed,

and suspended in the choir, where it may still be seen.

The wall on either side the doorway of this fourteenth-century screen was quite plain on the nave side until 1825, when the architect, Lewis N. Cottingham, covered it with feeble deal panelling and tabernacle work painted to imitate oak, and finials cast in plaster of Paris, stuck on with glue and painted. All these "embellishments" were removed fifty years later, the walls retaining their former plain appearance until the introduction of the eight niched figures of bishops, from the designs of Mr Pearson, about sixteen years ago.

The original arrangement of steps to the entrance in this screen—a broad flight extending its whole width, as at Canterbury, with a platform on the top —was altered to its present awkward form in the seventeenth century.

If the fourteenth century did not bring about any changes in the plan of the cathedral, it gave us one of the most beautiful pieces of sculpture of its date in existence. I refer to the doorway, originally built to afford the monks easier communication with the domestic buildings, and now forming the entrance to the "comfortable" room which serves as the Chapter-house.

Puritan violence had decapitated the figure of the Christian church, which occupies the jamb on the left-hand side of the ogee-surmounted arch; the doorway had been partially walled up, and a square-headed one inserted. Cottingham, who undertook the restoration of this portal, substituting a doorway of remarkably good Early Perpendicular woodwork for the former debased one, made the trifling mistake of putting a bearded and mitred bishop's head on to the figure of the Christian church, and so it remained until about five years ago, when the female head was restored at the cost of a lady. This figure is represented as erect, bearing the model of a church in her left hand, while her right grasps a crozier.

The figure typifying the Old Dispensation on the opposite side of the doorway is blind-folded, her right hand holds the Tables of the Law reversed, and her left a broken reed. The four seated figures within the jamb above have not been identified, but it has been suggested that the contrast between Judaism and Christianity is continued here, and that the two lower figures, both of which have veiled heads, are Jewish doctors, and the two upper, with bare heads, Christian doctors. A cast of this doorway, questionably coloured, is in the English Mediæval Court of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

In 1343, Bishop Hamo de Hythe—a great patron of architecture—raised the central tower, erecting upon the Early English storey, which has been alluded to as not rising higher than the ridge of the roofs, another one, relieved on either side, as far as can be judged from engravings made before 1749, by a pair of windows, and surmounted by a low spire of oak, covered with lead. The subsequent fate of this tower will be detailed hereafter.

Among other furniture, Bishop Hamo equipped the cathedral with an episcopal throne. In all likelihood it stood in the customary place at the east end of the southern range of stalls,[1] and was, no doubt, as elaborate a piece of work as the thrones then being set up at Exeter, Wells, Durham, and elsewhere.

What became of this throne, whether it perished at the Reformation, or was destroyed by Blue Dick and his impious crew on their way from Canterbury in 1642, or remained for another hundred years, when it was replaced by the one put up by Bishop Wilcocks, as seen in Storer's plate, is not clear.

There was likewise an ancient brazen eagle. This, too, has disappeared, and has been replaced by a modern one. That there was one we know from the

[1] It certainly occupied this position in the fifteenth century, for Bishop John Lorne, in his will, dated 1463, desires to be interred, "ex opposito sedis episcopalis."

cathedral accounts in which, under the year 1676, is the item: "Pd. Bayly the Sexton for cleaning the Eagle for one year due at Michaelmas, 1676, 1s. 0."

After the completion of the tower, the outer wall of the north choir-aisle was raised to form a clerestory, and a new stone vault divided into four bays with longitudinal, transverse, diagonal and wall ribs meeting in carved bosses executed. To the same Late Decorated period we may assign the windows with tracery in the style transitional between Decorated and Perpendicular, still existing in the side walls of the presbytery. These and the sedilia date, perhaps, from Thomas Burton's episcopate, 1378-89.

The fifteenth-century builders, with their usual disregard for work of an earlier epoch, substituted a broad Perpendicular window for the three lancets in the upper tier above the altar, imbedding portions of the Early English work in the wall, where it is needless to say the eagle eye of Sir Gilbert Scott detected them and restored the fenestration of this end of the church to its pristine form.

The clerestory and plain wooden roof of the nave, and the great west window are other marks of the Perpendicular period, as is the large chapel on the south side of the nave. At Rochester, devotion to St William of Perth[1] eclipsed that to the Blessed Virgin, so the Chapel of Our Lady was relegated to a less exalted position than the head of the cross. Her altar stood beneath the wide arch on the eastern side of the south transept, but increased devotion calling for an enlargement of the chapel somewhere,

[1] The shrine of St William occupied the eastern aisle of the north choir transept. This portion of the cathedral was evidently considered of high importance, for it was of the same height as the transept, and its roof gabled in the same axis as that of the eastern limb of the choir. Mr G. G. Scott (eldest son of Sir Gilbert), having discovered this to have been the fact while his father was at work on the choir in 1873, the roof here has been restored accordingly, and with remarkably fine effect.

the present Late Perpendicular building opening out of the south aisle of the nave, and the western side of the transept was formed. It is a very poor specimen of its epoch, but as the fan vault intended for it has never become an accomplished fact, we must judge this addition leniently in its present incomplete state. Of late years this chapel has been fitted up, and an enamelled cross and candlesticks of handsome workmanship from the *ateliers* of Mr W. Bainbridge Reynolds placed upon the altar.

After this there is little to record in the architectural history of Rochester Cathedral but a series of mutilations and disfigurements. The wretched work in the south aisle of the nave dates from 1664, that in the opposite one from 1670.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the choir appears to have undergone a complete refurnishing. These alterations took place between 1742 and 1743 under the direction of a Mr Sloane, when new stalls and pews were erected, the walls behind the former wainscotted, and the floor laid with Bremen and Portland stone, tastefully disposed.

A new episcopal throne in the "classic" of that day was erected at the expense of the bishop, Dr Joseph Wilcocks, and ten years later, Archbishop Herring, for many years dean, and who contributed £50 towards furnishing and ornamenting this part of the cathedral, gave the altar-piece, which had been put up after the Restoration, a new central panel, consisting of a piece of rich velvet enclosed in a frame "elegantly carved and gilt." This was subsequently removed, and a picture of the Angels appearing to the Shepherds, by Benjamin West, substituted.

In 1749 Bishop Hamo de Hythe's portion of the central tower, which, since 1545, had been styled the six-bell steeple,[1] was rebuilt, assuming the form

[1] Four bells called Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc,

shown in the drawing made in 1818 by John Chessell Buckler for his "Views of the Cathedral Churches of England and Wales, with Descriptions," published four years later.

This view is exceedingly valuable, as it gives us a very faithful representation of the tower as it appeared until Cottingham replaced it by the late feeble pinnacled one. About the same time the pinnacles on the outer turrets of the west front were removed, and the remainder of the northern turret rebuilt from the ground in a curious imitation of Norman.

About 1780 Bishop Gundulf's tower, in the angle formed by the choir with the north-western transept, began to be demolished for the sake of the building materials, but this work of destruction was happily abandoned after the upper part had been removed.

In or about 1825 Cottingham, who, a few years later, was destined to work such havoc among the solemn post-Gothic fittings of Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford,[1] was let loose upon Rochester Cathedral. He commenced the "improvements" by taking down the Restoration altar-piece, by which, however, he brought to view the whole of the original composition of the east end of the choir, with its gorgeous polychromatic decoration, discovered on denuding the walls of their whitewash. Below each of the three eastern windows a painted cross enclosed in a circle was found, clearly three of the twelve consecration crosses that were anointed at the dedication of the choir in 1240.

Unfortunately all this coloration was afterwards obliterated.

had been hung in it besides two others, in all probability removed from one of the campanili belonging to the Norman church.

[1] They were sold by auction, 14th December 1837, in the stable-yard of the college, and the Catalogue, which occupies four pages of the Appendix to the second volume of Bloxam's "Magdalen College Register," is sad reading.

The earlier Georgian fittings were ejected from the choir, and a new throne and pulpit,[1] seats for the choir, and elaborate canopies over the return stalls, put up from the designs, it is said, of Blore, the western front of the choir-screen being covered with the wretched panelling already alluded to. A new organ-case, of which something will be said anon, had been erected some thirty years before Cottingham commenced his alterations.

The upper story of the central tower, which had been strangely "transmogrified" in 1749, being considered unsafe, it was taken down, and the lower stage, which had escaped pretty well, refaced by Cottingham.

This gentleman, without any attempt to copy work of either the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, contented himself with erecting that pinnacled belfry, upon which, for nearly eighty years, Gundulf's Norman castle keep frowned as if in reproof of its vulgarity and pretentiousness. Luckily, Cottingham's tower, which was no better than the wretched specimens of "Commissioner's Gothic," that were rising about the same time all over the country, has gone, never to return.

Allusion has been made in former pages to the various works carried out at Rochester between 1871 and 1875 under Scott. In the choir all the roofs had been lowered. The question then arose as to whether they should be raised to their ancient pitch. For this purpose there were no funds available, but Sir Gilbert persuaded the Chapter to raise the gables, hoping that the roofs might follow, but as yet they have not.

[1] At the restoration of 1872-75 this throne was sent to St Alban's Cathedral, where I lately saw it stowed away as lumber in a remote corner. The pulpit is now in the nave of Rochester Cathedral. On removing the pulpit, a "Wheel of Fortune," probably of Bishop Hamo de Hythe's time, was discovered on the wall at the angle of the choir, with its northern transept.

In refurnishing the choir a very interesting discovery of some thirteenth century woodwork was made.

Originally Rochester Cathedral choir had only one row of twenty-two stalls on either side, each side being divided into three lengths, and perhaps four returned stalls. Of these latter no portion has been preserved. Of the side stalls the whole of the misericords had disappeared, and of the stalls themselves nothing but the brackets which carried the divisions between the seats were in existence.

In front of the seats was a low bench, supported by a series of trefoil-headed arches. This woodwork, which still exists almost in its original state, owes its preservation to the fact that it was encased by the fifteenth century builders, and used as a ledge, but, under Sir Gilbert Scott, these casing desks were taken away, and made to do duty for another row of seats. Sufficient remains of the lower part of the stalls was in existence to enable the whole design to be made out and reproduced with certainty.

The choir of Rochester Cathedral is unique in two respects. It has neither open arcade nor triforium. In lieu of the former there is a wall immediately above the stalls, not panelled and canopied, but resplendent with that heraldic diaper of which some account has been given. For the triforium stage there are four Early English blocked arcades on slender marble shafts, two to each great vaulting compartment. The sanctuary, almost too profusely adorned with these slender Purbeck marble shafts, which are one of the chief characteristics of the Early English work here, is remarkably solemn, the whole of its windows being filled with rich-stained glass, all harmonising with the surrounding architecture.

The reredos, a Cœnacolo, recessed behind an arcade, is not particularly remarkable, and should, moreover, have been advanced a bay. The position of the sedilia would have determined this.

The whole of the work at Rochester was superintended for Sir Gilbert Scott by Mr J. T. Irvine, whose great knowledge of minute detail enabled him to profit by the unusual opportunities offered by the underpinning and laying bare of walls and arches, by which the history and changes in Gundulf's cathedral have been made clear to us in a very remarkable manner.

The restored cathedral was reopened on St Barnabas' Day, 11th June 1875.

Between 1888 and 1890 the west front was restored under Pearson, who replaced the debased northern pinnacled turret by the Norman one we now see, and carried up those flanking the aisles to their present dimensions.

On either side of the great west doorway, which, it is needless to say, has not been touched, two of the arches were found to be blocked niches. These have been opened out, and filled with statues of Gundulf and John I. The old western façade of Hereford Cathedral, destroyed in 1786, must have resembled this of Rochester before the tower was raised upon it, the main difference being the larger size of the turrets flanking the front at Rochester.

In 1904 an old citizen of Rochester, Mr Thomas Hellyar Foord, of Botley Grange, placed the sum of £5000 at the disposal of the Dean and Chapter, to be applied to any use they might think fit. Dissatisfaction with Cottingham's wretched pinnacled tower continuing to grow yearly, it was decided to rebuild the whole steeple on the lines of the one that had been debased in 1749. The work of reconstruction was entrusted to Mr C. Hodgson Fowler of Durham, the Cathedral Architect. The lower portion of the reconstructed tower is Early English, and merely a facing to the original walling, the key to which was given by old engravings, such as Buckler's, already alluded to, and consisting of a trefoil-headed arcade. The new belfry stage, which

has been made as far as possible to resemble that of Hamo de Hythe, is Late Decorated, and rises well above the roofs of the transepts. Niches above the windows are filled with figures of St Andrew (west), St Paulinus (south), the Blessed Virgin (east), and Hamo de Hythe (north), and on the shields are sculptured the arms of various distinguished persons connected with the cathedral.

Bishop Hamo's metal spire had become much debased when Cottingham removed it in 1825, but the fine one with its lead covering, laid herring-bone fashion, in all probability reproduces the original covering. The whole work does credit to Mr Fowler and his builder, Mr Halliday, and undoubtedly adds great dignity and repose to what was heretofore a not particularly prepossessing exterior. The steeple, which contains eight new bells, was inaugurated on St Andrew's Day—the Patronal Festival of the cathedral—3rd November 1905, on which occasion the thirteenth centenary of the foundation of the See and cathedral was also commemorated.

The musical traditions of Rochester are not wholly without interest. The cathedral services have long been models of decorum and devotion, and within the past forty years choral festivals have been held, diffusing the practice of good church music throughout the diocese.

John Williams, who was organist in 1539, seems to have been a "petty" or minor canon, and consequently in holy orders.

Daniel Henstridge was organist from 1674 until 1698, when he succeeded Nicholas Wootton at Canterbury Cathedral, holding the post until his death in 1736. The old disused MS. books at Canterbury contain some of his compositions, including a service in the key of D.

Ralph Banks, originally a chorister in Durham Cathedral under Thomas Ebdon, became organist

in 1790. The predecessor of the present organ was then in course of building by Samuel Green, at that time in the front rank of his profession, and in the following year Banks opened it. The pipes were formed into clusters of columns, and, together with a "Gothic" case designed by the Rev. Mr Ollive, concerning whom I am unable to glean any particulars, produced "a good and appropriate effect"—so said a contemporary account.[1] This organ continued, with occasional alterations, until 1871, when it was entirely rebuilt by Hill, and enclosed in the over-gorgeous cases so arranged as to permit of a view into the choir, which we now see. Very extensive alterations and improvements took place in it last year under Walker.

On his appointment in 1790 Banks found that the prayers instead of being chanted, according to the immemorial custom of cathedrals, were read. He succeeded in remedying this state of things, and always recalled his success with pleasure.

He died suddenly in the night of 30th September 1841, aged seventy-nine, having officiated at the cathedral service in the afternoon of the same day. The last service he played was the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* in C by Ebdon, his old Durham master.

"A nice, kind, fatherly old gentleman he was," says Mr Miles the recently retired venerable verger of Rochester, "and very kind to us choristers." Mr Miles, it should be mentioned, began his career as one of the *parvi clerici* of the cathedral.

The following entry made by Banks in an organ book reveals a curious state of affairs—

"When I came from Durham to this cathedral in

[1] See a woodcut in the *Penny Magazine* for 1836, and one of the plates in Winkles' "Cathedrals."

Several interesting drawings of the choir, made before 1870, one of which shows this organ, are to be seen in the Chapter-house.

1790, only one Lay Clerk attended during each week. The Canticles (in the week-day services) were chanted. Two services (Rogers in D, and Aldrich in G) and seven anthems had been in rotation on Sundays for twelve years!!!—R.B."

Banks composed some pleasing cathedral music. Soon after his death a volume of it was published by subscription at Chappell's. A note attached to the *Credo* in his Service in G states that it was "composed at the desire of the Very Rev. Robert Stevens, D.D., Dean, from whose remarks on the various Articles the Author derived great assistance in adapting to them appropriate music." One of the anthems in the collection, "O sing unto the Lord," was composed for, and performed on the opening of the organ with additional stops on St Cecilia's Day, 22nd November 1840. Altogether, Mr Banks seems to have been the right man in the right place, and he did good honest work in his day and generation. He lies buried in the nave of the cathedral.

Banks was succeeded in 1841 by John Larkin Hopkins, one of a notable family of organists and church musicians. He held the post until 1856, when he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, as successor to Professor T. A. Walmisley. To his pen we are indebted for two pleasing Services in E flat and C major—the former dedicated to his master, James Turle, under whom he was a chorister at Westminster Abbey, and the latter to Professor Walmisley. He also, while at Rochester, published a volume of anthems, containing much excellent music.

In 1841 he helped, with G. B. Allen[1] and James Coward,[2] both former choristers of Westminster,

[1] Sometime organist of All Saints, Kensington Park, a remarkable church built between 1853 and 1861, by the late William White, F.S.A.

[2] The well-known organist of the Crystal Palace (1857-80).

to found the still-flourishing Abbey Glee Club. His cousin, John Hopkins, succeeded him in the Rochester organistship in 1856, and held the post until his death in 1900. As an accompanist of the cathedral service John Hopkins was, like his brother, Edward John Hopkins, of the Temple, almost unrivalled in his day. While a chorister of St Paul's, under William Hawes, he had ample opportunities of studying the style of Thomas Attwood, then organist of the cathedral, and much of it is reflected in his beautifully written Service in D. His hymn tune, "Whitwell," written for the first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1860, and set to the hymn for the Feast of St John the Evangelist, beginning, "The life, which God's Incarnate Word," has been retained in every edition of that collection.

Under J. L. and John Hopkins was trained that distinguished group of choir boys which includes Dr Armes (organist of Durham Cathedral), Sir Frederick Bridge (organist of Westminster Abbey), Dr J. C. Bridge (organist of Chester Cathedral), Dr E. J. Crow (late organist of Ripon), Dr D. J. Wood (of Exeter), and the distinguished tenor singer, Joseph Maas, whose premature death in 1886 caused such profound regret.

Mr Bertram Luard Selby, who had previously held organ appointments at Salisbury Cathedral, St John's, Torquay, and at St Barnabas', Pimlico, succeeded John Hopkins in 1900. He is favourably known as a church composer, and his complete Services in A major, B major, C major, and F are notable contributions to high-class service music.

I alluded just now to the mode of reading instead of chanting the prayers which Banks found was the custom on his succeeding to the organistship at Rochester.

At Bristol, in 1849, the Dean, Dr Lamb, sought

to abolish the chanting of the prayers by the appointment of minor canons incompetent to sing. This was in direct contravention of the cathedral statutes.

A great outcry arose, and public opinion was stirred, not only in Bristol, but throughout England, at this deliberate mutilation of the cathedral service. The aid of the visitor, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Monk) was sought, and he promptly ordered the time-honoured usage to be resumed. The Dean had the effrontery to assert that it was the duty of the minor canons to preach and not to chant (!) Had the Bishop's decision been adverse, a precedent, would undoubtedly have been created, and other Deans, similarly minded, would have lost no time in following it.

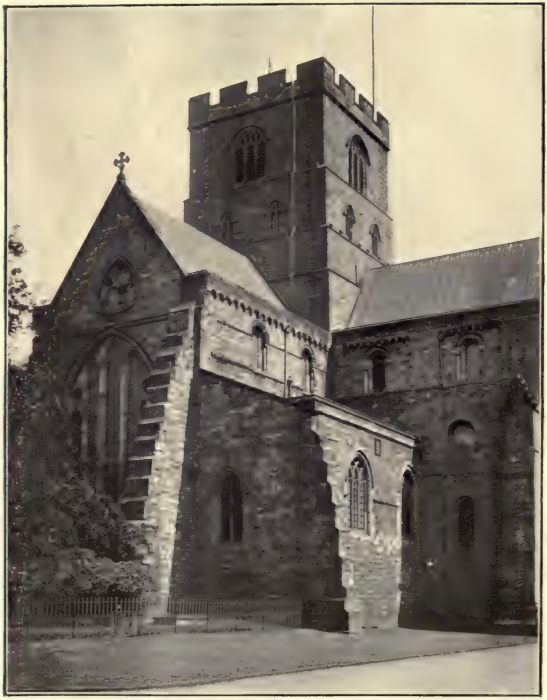
It is worthy of mention that Bristol Cathedral can number two fine vocalists and good practical musicians amongst its former Precentors—the Rev. R. Llewellyn Caley (1838-61) and the Rev. Alfred Poole (1861-68). In connection with the second-named there is a pleasant little anecdote.

One morning at Bristol Cathedral a very quiet-looking lady, who had sat next to Mrs Poole, turned to her at the conclusion of the service and whispered: "Could you tell me the name of the clergyman who sang the Litany?" "Precentor Poole,"[1] was the answer. "Thank you," she replied. "Perfect, simply perfect," and after a slight pause, said: "What name?" "Precentor Poole." With again, "Thank you," the lady left the cathedral, Mrs Poole wondering who the lady might be who spoke in such emphatic terms of the Precentor's singing. Early in the afternoon a note came from the Dean (Dr Elliot) asking Mr and Mrs Poole to the Deanery after evensong, apologising

[1] Mr Poole subsequently became Vicar of All Saints', Ryde, where he was mainly instrumental in building one of the finest churches in the south of England.

for the hurried invitation, saying he wished them to meet some musical friends.

On their arrival at the Deanery, the same quiet-looking little lady was there, and when the Dean introduced Mr and Mrs Poole to *Madam Jenny Lind*, Mrs Poole understood and appreciated such a testimony to her husband's musical ability.



THE NAVE AND SOUTH TRANSEPT

CARLISLE . . . CATHEDRAL

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CHAPTER IV

CARLISLE

THE Cathedral of Carlisle, from the remoteness of its situation, in addition to its truncated state, had received but little attention from the hands of the antiquary until 1839, when Robert Billings put forth his beautifully illustrated monograph upon it.

It is known that John Britton contemplated including Carlisle in his "Cathedral Antiquities." He had made large collections for it, as well as for Chester, Chichester, Durham, Ely, Lincoln, and Rochester Cathedrals, but for the reasons stated on page 28 of the Introductory Chapter to this work, he left the intention unfulfilled. Billings' work, showing us, as it does, the state of Carlisle Cathedral seventy years ago, is very valuable and interesting.[1]

[1] Besides this monograph on Carlisle Cathedral, Billings, who was eminently successful in drawing the attention of his countrymen to mediæval architecture north of the Tweed, published between 1839 and 1852, "Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland," 4 vols.; "Ancient Churches of Scotland"; "An Architectural History of the Temple Church"; "Illustrations of Geometrical Tracery from the Panelling belonging to Carlisle Cathedral"; "Architectural Illustrations and Descriptions of the Cathedral Church of Durham"; "Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham"; and "Kettering Church, Northamptonshire." The views in Billings' volumes are neither so large nor treated in

Although Carlisle Cathedral in its curtailed form must hold a place inferior to the grand and splendid ones of York and Lincoln, and yield in proportion and wealth of detail to Wells, Lichfield, or Salisbury, it possesses not a few features beautiful in the eye of the antiquary, and valuable to the architectural student.

The choir, for instance, is mainly a rich specimen of fourteenth century architecture, and its eastern window is perhaps unsurpassed by any existing structure of equal magnitude, and had the remainder of the church been carried out on a scale commensurate with this portion, the whole might have taken a very high place among English Minsters of the second class.

There was a religious establishment here at a very early period of English history, but it was devastated by the Danes in or about 860. The house remained desolated until, in 1090, William Rufus commanded its restoration. This was completed under Henry I., who in 1101 founded a Priory of Canons Regular of the Augustinian Order, appointing Adelulf, his confessor, the first Prior, and dedicating the church to the Blessed Virgin.

After the loss of his children in the White Ship, Henry, seeking relief in the duties and consolations of religion, was persuaded by Adelulf to raise the monastic church to one of cathedral rank. This was in 1133, Adelulf becoming the first Bishop.

It is interesting to observe that Carlisle was

such a pleasantly picturesque manner as those by Nash, Prout, Mackenzie, and others, but he had the advantage of being an architect, and knew the value of correct delineations of detail. Many of the studies of parts are engraved with real care, and on so large a scale, that they are of practical value for reference without a plan or a section.

Some idea of Billings' style may be gathered from the plate of the choir of Durham Cathedral looking west before the valuable early Post Restorations arrangements were disturbed by Salvin, in vol. i. of this work.

the only cathedral in England (and, therefore, in Christendom) the Episcopal Chapter of which consisted of Augustinians. The houses attached to all the other monastic cathedrals were Benedictine. If there was ever an instance on the Continent (and this is doubtful) of a monastery attached to a cathedral, it was a Benedictine.

Of the Norman church begun under Rufus, two bays of the nave and the south transept remain almost entire. It was a moderately sized structure about 260 feet long, and possibly resembled the church of another Augustinian House, St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, in London.

About 1240[1] a new choir was begun on a grand scale, and it was just nearing completion when, on 30th May 1292, a tremendous gale from the west blew for twenty-four hours, in the midst of which an incendiary set fire to a house near the west end of the cathedral. The flames spread, and the whole city and suburbs were destroyed except a few houses and the church of the Black Friars.[2] Turbulent times militated against the reconstruction of the church. It was long in building, and although recommenced during the geometrical phase of Edwardian Pointed, the style had passed into its Curvilinear one before the choir was finished. Between 1400 and 1420 Bishop Strickland rebuilt the central tower, Perpendicularised the north transept, and gave the choir its stall work, whose canopies and miserere carvings are perhaps unequalled for their date.

The tower had to be constructed in short stages—

[1] Opinions are divided as to the exact date. Some authorities attribute the commencement of the new work to Bishop Hugh Beaulieu (1219-23), others to Bishop Sylvester of Everdon (1247-54).

[2] "Tota Civitas Karleolensis concremata est, et combusta cum totâ abbatiâ."—*Hemingford.*

In the chronicles of Lanercost, graphic accounts in prose and verse are given of this calamity.

precautions necessitated by the distorted condition of the earlier piers. The Fratry, one of the few surviving relics of the monastic buildings, dates from the end of the fifteenth century. In 1541 the Augustinian house, which had gradually arisen from its ashes around the church, was dissolved, the last Prior, Lancelot Salkeld, becoming the first Dean of the New Foundation Cathedral.

Salkeld, to whom we are indebted for the beautiful Early Renaissance screen on the north side of the choir, was deposed in 1547, but was restored six years later, and died in 1560. Until the end of the sixteenth century the cathedral appears to have remained intact, with its Norman nave and south transept, its Perpendicularised north transept, and its lofty Decorated choir, but from that time its decline, until its restoration in the last century, was rapid.

When in 1634 three gentlemen of "Merry Norwich" —a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ancient—came to Carlisle in the course of a journey which they took afoot for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the beauties and antiquities of England, they were sorely disappointed after the "fair and stately" ritual and music they had just seen and heard at Durham. Although there were "sixteen petty canons and singing men," it was "like a great wild country church, and as it appeared outwardly, so it was inwardly, neither beautified nor adorned one whit. The organs and voices did well agree, the one being like a shrill bagpipe, the other like the Scottish tone; the sermon in the same accent. The communion was administered and received in a wild and irreverent manner." "Merry Carlisle" had not forgotten the days of forays, when the Black Wills of the Border carried off cattle from under the castle walls.

The greatest destruction was wrought at Midsummer, 1645, when, on the surrender of the city to

the Parliamentary forces, nearly the whole of the nave was destroyed, together with the Chapter-house, dormitory, cloister, prebendal houses, and part of the deanery. It is more likely that the enemy this time was fire, for Fuller, in his "Worthies of Cumberland" (1662), alludes to the cathedral as "black but comely, still bearing signes of its four times byrninge."

In 1764 the beautiful wooden ceiling of the choir was concealed by a stucco-groined vault, which was stated at the time to be "a great advantage to the appearance of the church," and some wretched "Gothic" fittings were put up from the designs of Lord Camelford, a nephew of the Bishop (Lyttleton),[1] in place of those that had escaped the convulsions and iconoclasms of the Reformers and the Puritans. Fortunately the fine Perpendicular canopied and returned stalls were not interfered with.

The truncated nave had long been used as a parish church of St Mary from the fourteenth century.[2] The only separation of this church, which was newly pewed and galleried about 1844, from the choir of the cathedral, was the lower part of the wall at the transepts about 10 feet high; so, to prevent the services of the church and the choir from interfering with each other, the former began at nine o'clock and terminated at eleven, when the cathedral service commenced. The capitals of the columns in the choir were cleansed of their whitewash in 1803, and during the decanate of Dr Tait (1849-56), afterwards Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury, the church was placed in the hands of Mr Ewan Christian, whose chief work was the removal of

[1] Bishop Lyttleton had a character for "geniality" and "hospitality," and a remarkable knowledge of antiquities. He was a frequent contributor to the "Archæologia," and in the second volume of that work is a fine portrait of the Bishop, engraved by Watson, from the painting by Cotes.

[2] It was in this church that on Christmas Eve, 1797, Sir Walter Scott was married to Miss Carpenter.

the sham eighteenth-century groining, by which the original semicircular panelled and hammer-beamed roof was exposed.[1] The nave and transepts were also restored by Mr Christian, and subsequently other improvements were made in the choir under the direction of George Edmund Street.

The material of which the cathedral is built is sandstone from the neighbourhood—grey in the Norman, and red in the Decorated and Perpendicular parts. Such a combination of colours, particularly in the western portions, is exceedingly striking.

The two bays alone remaining of the twelfth-century nave, with their massy circular columns and finely developed triforium and clerestory, whose windows peer through a triple arcade, of which the central one is very tall and stilted, must have been very imposing when entire. In general effect it recalls that of St John's Church, Chester. The pillars on the northern side of the nave are level with the northern part of the organ-screen, which stands within the narrow eastern arch of the central tower, so that a line drawn from the centre of the west front to the east end would come out just to the right of the reredos.[2]

To explain this singularity I must leave the earlier portions of the cathedral for the present and repair to the choir.

Carlisle, as I have already stated, was a Norman cathedral, and of small dimensions when compared with the existing choir, which appears to have been the commencement of a grand design for rebuilding

[1] The most questionable restoration of Mr Christian was that in the third bay from the east of each choir-aisle, which had been raised and filled with Perpendicular windows, clearly the history of some simultaneous establishment of chantries. These were reduced by Mr Christian to the Early English lancet character of the rest: a needless sacrifice of archæology to uniformity, to say nothing of picturesqueness.

[2] The eccentric position of the arch opening from the choir into the tower space is apparent in the accompanying illustration.

the whole church in the graceful architecture of the first half of the thirteenth century. The architect's idea was to preserve as much of the old church as he could use to advantage in his new design, not sweeping away the ancient structure to its very foundations. His intention was to preserve the south transept with the corresponding piers of the tower, meaning to work them into the new edifice; but as the north transept would, in consequence of the extension of the choir in breadth, have been within the walls of the new choir, he rebuilt that arm of the cross, and on the eastern side of it made provision for the extension of an aisle which has never been carried into effect. That a commencement had been made is proved by the existence of the angular pier of the eastern aisle, which was completed before the removal of the transept and now remains partially embedded in the wall. If the plan had been fully executed, the tower would, with the Norman nave, have been entirely removed, but the work never proceeded beyond the choir, which, in spite of some drawbacks, the comparative poverty of its triforium and clerestory and the absence of a stone-groined roof, is a noble piece of architecture.[1]

The fire of 1292 destroyed the timber roof over the central part of the Early English choir, which had been set back much further to the north than the original Norman one, but the aisles being groined in stone, escaped.

In falling, the burning timbers so extensively damaged the Early English columns that they had to be rebuilt; but so skilfully was the work accomplished that neither the arches nor the vaults of the aisles, with their graceful wall arcades and lancet windows of varied arrangement, were disturbed.

This explains the (at first sight) strange spectacle

[1] A view of the choir looking east forms the frontispiece to the first volume of this work.

of Early English arches resting on Decorated piers. During the first half of the fourteenth century the reconstruction of the triforium and clerestory was in progress under Bishops de Welton and Thomas de Appleby, a semicircular ceiling of wood divided into panels being thrown over the whole. The treatment of the clerestory is singular, each compartment being pierced with three windows, viz., a three-light one flanked on either side by a lancet. The triforium is merely a passage between the lean-to roofs of the aisles, and, like that at Lichfield, seems never to have been properly floored or made fit for use. The clerestory, on the contrary, is unusually well developed, there being a spacious thoroughfare between the windows and the open arcades which correspond to them and look into the choir. Neither in the triforium nor the clerestory is the work highly elaborated, the arches dying off in both instances into the pillarets supporting them without capitals.

These parts of the church are approached by a staircase in the turret at the north-east angle of the choir, and should be ascended to study the ancient painted glass in the tracery of the great window.

The eastern bay of either aisle is a curious mingling of Early English and Decorated work, evidently added on to the original Early English choir after the fire of 1292. The lower part of the great east window is also of that time, but as funds to complete it were difficult of acquirement, the works progressed slowly, stopping whenever the money failed. The upper part, therefore, with the tracery is much later —certainly not earlier than 1360, and in all likelihood the work of Bishop Appleby after 1363. This window, in many respects the most magnificently proportioned, and as regards its Flowing tracery the most evenly balanced in England, would undoubtedly have gained in appearance had not the fourteenth-century architect carried out the aisles flush with the east end. The double tier of lancets at the

east end of Southwell and Worcester Cathedrals, and the Curvilinear window in the same position at Bristol, owe not a little of their fine effect to the intervention of an aisleless Lady Chapel. The choir at Carlisle is divided into eight bays, of which the one at each end on either side is much narrower than the other six. The respond of the western bay takes the form of a half pillar; that of the eastern one is a corbel. The arcade is altogether a most stately one, and in point of grace ranks with what may be called the two loveliest ranges of columns and arches produced during the Early English period, *i.e.*, those in the naves of Wells Cathedral and West Walton Church, near Wisbech.

The columns are formed of eight clustered shafts, the cardinal shafts being larger in circumference than the oblique ones.[1]

The practice of symbolically representing the months or seasons of the year in churches goes back to the first ages of Christianity, being represented in the catacombs, and on the marble walls of the ancient cathedral of Athens.

In the Ducal Palace at Venice symbols of the twelve months of the year are sculptured upon the eight sides of an early fourteenth-century capital, and numerous isolated representations of the characteristic employment of the various months occur scattered about on capitals in our cathedrals and larger churches. But we have no other example in England of a complete series such as that at Carlisle, where the representation of each month is upon a large scale, on a capital to itself, and perfectly preserved, nor can I call to mind any such in foreign churches.

There are at Carlisle fourteen capitals, all finely sculptured with bold, rich, naturalistically treated

[1] They are just such columns as Richard Carpenter and William Butterfield loved to reproduce.

foliage disposed horizontally with much freedom and grace around the bell of each. Perhaps the vine and the oak are the favourite and most frequently repeated patterns. Intermingled with the foliaged ornament are various figures of men, animals and monsters, all curious and interesting; grotesques playing on musical instruments, heads with branches of foliage issuing from the corners of their mouths; figures with branches of thick foliage for tails; bodies, wings and legs of dragons, and coifed heads of men; squirrels sitting on boughs — one cracking nuts, another washing its face with its paws; an owl with a mouse in its beak; a fox stealing off with the neck of a goose in his mouth, and body slung across his back; and so forth. All these figures, though characterised by the utmost wildness of invention and grotesqueness, are nevertheless instinct with life, spirited and natural. On those parts of the twelve western capitals (the two eastern ones, originally behind the altar, are excluded from this series) which face the choir proper, in spaces amidst the foliage averaging 12 inches in height by about 15 inches in width, are represented the twelve months of the year; the first six months being on the south side, from east to west, the last six on the north, from west to east, according to the course of the sun in the heavens. The four easternmost of these representations on each side are fully exposed to view; but the two western on each side are in great part concealed by the canopies of the stalls, which render it difficult to get a good view of them, even with a ladder.

These carvings, all of which are very fully described and explained in a paper read by Mr J. Fowler, F.S.A., of Wakefield at the winter meeting of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society of 1875, are very important as embodying in a striking manner the mediæval idea of man's relationship to the world around him; and what could more naturally

suggest itself to one with such a grasp of natural forms and beauties as the sculptor of these carvings? That there were twelve spaces, that there were twelve months, that he was eminently able and moved to represent them, is a sufficient explanation.

The ancient stained glass in the tracery of the great east window at Carlisle is another marvellous piece of fourteenth-century iconography. Too often it has been so far overlooked by writers on the cathedral as to conclude that it represents "a variety of subjects from Scripture," whereas the whole of this glass forms one connected subject, *i.e.*, the Session of Our Lord in Judgment, ecclesiologically termed "A Doom." In the quatrefoil at the apex of the window is the Saviour seated as the Supreme Judge, His head, surrounded by the cruciform nimbus, and His feet resting upon the rainbow, and showing the stigmata. One hand is elevated, as though saying to the procession of the blessed to the Palace of Heaven in the tracery to the left of the spectator, "Venite benedicite!" while the other is pointing downwards to the right as if addressing the unhappy who are being thrust down to the place of punishment, "Discedite a me Maledicti!"

In the group to the left of the Saviour the Heavenly Jerusalem is represented with its towers and pavilions. St Peter stands in the gateway, clad in white, at his feet flowing the River of Life, and that we may have no doubt that it is a river, it is depicted as full of little fish. All the figures in the procession are naked; they are of all ages and both sexes, and the faces show marked individuality. The antithesis to this happy picture shows the place of punishment, the red glare of which draws attention to the quatrefoil in which it is placed. The tortures indicated are of the most active kind: figures hanging on gibbets, other wretches being boiled in cauldrons, burnt, turned on a spit while a green devil looks on, and in one corner a puce coloured devil is torturing a

woman with a huge fork. The rest of this portion of the tracery is occupied with the representation of the general resurrection elaborately worked out.

Some of the figures rising from the dead are kings and ecclesiastics of high rank, and there can be no doubt that many of them are portraits.

There are other Dooms in old English stained glass, viz., at Bristol, Fairford, Lincoln, Lichfield, Selby, Shrewsbury, and Wells, but of all these "Dooms" the Carlisle specimen is the finest.

The nine lights below were filled with stained glass early in the 'sixties as a memorial to Bishop Percy, by Hardman. Perhaps the groups are in places wanting in distinctness, but the tones assimilate very well on the whole with those of the old work above. When the mediæval glass in these lights disappeared is not certain, nor can we ascertain what was its subject. In all probability it represented the Tree of Jesse. It was not unusual with the mediæval artists to combine the "Summum Judicium" with the "Radix Jesse" in such vast east windows as Bristol, Selby, Shrewsbury, and Wells. At Selby the glass has been so cleverly restored by Mr Thomas Curtis, the representative of the old house of Ward and Nixon (afterwards Ward and Hughes), that a very expert eye is needed to detect the new work.

The reredos, although well intentioned and liberal in its cost, is *jejune*. It is merely a series of arcades designed in 1872 by Street, who four years previously had been appointed diocesan architect. Ecclesiologists, familiar with such altar-pieces as those in St Andrew's, Wells Street, St John's, Torquay, All Saints', Clifton, and the chapel on the south side of St John The Divine's, Kennington, must not hold Street responsible for this one at Carlisle, when we remember what the "influences" at the cathedral were at that time. His hands were tied, and to have attempted anything grand or sculpturesque was quite out of the question. For, from 1856

CARLISLE . . . . CATHEDRAL

THE CHOIR LOOKING WEST

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to 1881 the Dean was the evangelical Close,[1] who, as Rector of St Mary, Cheltenham, was a determined but not very formidable antagonist of the Cambridge Camden (afterwards the Ecclesiological) Society on its establishment in 1839. His "Fifth of November Sermon," preached at Cheltenham in 1844, and entitled "The Restoration of Churches the Restoration of Popery, proved and illustrated from the authenticated publications of the Cambridge Camden Society"—a preposterous title which the very reverend author no doubt subsequently wished to forget—was confessedly an attack on Benjamin Webb, John Mason Neale, Archdeacon Thorpe, Beresford Hope, and their *coterie* of college friends interested in the revival of the true principles of religious art.

The Paley memorial pulpit—a much more elaborate and thoughtful work — and the bishop's throne, emulating Bishop Strickland's fine canopies to the stalls, were also Street's. But his most important undertaking in connection with Carlisle was the rehabilitation of the interesting old Fratry (refectory) of the monastery, now the Chapter-house. This noble hall, 79 feet long by 27 feet broad, and rebuilt between 1484 and 1501 by Prior Gondibour,[2] had been disfigured and maltreated at various times and in different ways during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, till little enough of the old work was visible to any one but an expert, and much of that which could be seen was without architectural value

[1] Just before Dr Close's appointment to the Deanery of Carlisle, the choir of the cathedral had been restored, and the original ceiling gorgeously painted as to its panels with gold stars on a blue ground. The story runs that the exclamation elicited from him on beholding it for the first time was: "Oh! my stars!" The coloration of this roof, originally red and green, was suggested by Owen Jones.

[2] We owe the charming Transition from Decorated to Perpendicular screen between St Catherine's Chapel and the north transept to this prior.

or significance. When in 1880 Street proposed to remove "the venerable evidences of history during two centuries, and the genuine remnants of a past living architecture," the "anti-restoration" and "preservation of every bit of Georgian rubbish" society raised a howl of disapproval. These people could not, or would not, see that what the architect proposed doing was rather to rehabilitate the then existing work, after due lopping off of fungus growths, than actual new work.

However, regardless of the outcry, the work of restoring this Fratry was proceeded with, and the result is that we now have in it a very charming building, and not a conjectural one of something else, which had actually been destroyed. It now serves as a Chapter-house and library, and here, among other curiosities, are preserved two mediæval copes,[1] and the "cornu eburneum," laid on the high altar by Henry I. when he endowed the cathedral. The Fratry is raised upon a low crypt, divided into two aisles by octangular columns, into which the arches of the vaulting die without the intervention of capitals.

We may now return to the western part of the cathedral, placing ourselves at the entrance to the north aisle of the choir, whence the best and most comprehensive view of the Norman portions can be obtained.

In the tower piers, which are flat on the nave side in order to accommodate the stalls which in the Norman church were arranged under the crossing, we have an interesting example of the engraftment of Early Perpendicular shafts upon Norman ones. This took place when the tower was added to by Bishop Strickland. Until then it is probable that the tower arches retained their Norman shafts to their full height, but the latter being found unequal

[1] The pattern on one of these copes has given the key for that of the rich white frontal placed upon the high altar at times when that colour is appointed.

to their superincumbent weight—they had telescoped into the soil about a foot shortly after their first erection—it was necessary to partially rebuild them, replacing the old Norman capitals at half height. Even now the distorted condition of the arches is somewhat alarming.

When Billings made the drawings for his work on Carlisle Cathedral the roofs of the nave and transepts had been replaced by flat ceilings of the roughest character, at some debased epoch, by which the true height of these portions had been lost.

Stone vaulting seems never to have been contemplated in the central portions, but the shafts between the windows in the aisles indicate a commencement of it there. The original roofs of the nave and transepts were in all probability of the open timbered and gabled kind, like those in Bishop Walkelin's Norman transepts at Winchester. Such roofs have now been given to the nave and transepts at Carlisle.

There are no fittings here except the modern font and some open benches, the extraordinarily close character of the choir-screen precluding the use of the crossing and nave for congregational purposes. This has been the case since 1870, when a new church of St Mary having been built in the abbey grounds, the nave was cleared of the wretched fittings which had so long encumbered it, and the wall of separation across the western arch of the tower thrown down. Now the massive circular Norman piers stand out unimpeded, the simple grandeur of those that have been spared making us regret the loss of the remainder all the more.

The fronts of the nave and transepts are to a great extent modern. Until 1870, when Mr Christian relieved it with a large quintuplet of lancets pierced in a stone wall beneath a containing arch, and now filled with good stained glass in the First Style by Hardman, the west end was a blank. The key-

note for this window was supplied by the original Early English triplet high up in the end of the south transept. The portal below it is modern, and part of the works undertaken between 1853 and 1856. It is composed of two square-headed doorways beneath a richly moulded arch springing from receding shafts with foliaged capitals, and is invested with considerable dignity. Within the tympanum, which is surmounted by a plain gabled coping, is a large circle traceried with six small ones quatrefoiled.

In the north transept end the poor Late Perpendicular tracery, with which the Decorated frame had been filled, was removed by Mr Christian, and work of a Geometrical character substituted. There are six lights, broken into groups of three with a circle above them.

Hardman, who really ought to have done better, executed the stained glass here which forms a memorial to the five children of Archbishop Tait. They were cut off by fever within little more than a month while he was Dean of Carlisle.

The colouring of this window is too florid, and sadly desiderates the relief of white glass, and is in every way far inferior to many of the contemporary productions of its artist.

The cathedral contains two excellent brasses. That of Bishop Bell (1478-95) in the centre of the choir is not only of extraordinarily grand dimensions, but almost entirely perfect. The prelate is represented fully vested, and, what is unusual in pre-Reformation works of this kind, holds a book.

The other brass—a mural one in the north aisle of the choir—is smaller, but no less interesting. It commemorates Bishop Robinson (1598-1616). He is vested in linen rochet, chimere open in front, with lawn sleeves attached to it, and a scarf. He wears a skull cap, and holds a pastoral staff with,

on the shaft, "Ps. 23. Corrigendo, sustentando," and on the crook, "Vigilando, dirigendo." These words encircle an eye. On a short *Vexillum* suspended from the crook is the word "velando." In the background the cathedral and school are archaically represented, and below them the words, "Invenit destructum, reliquit extructum et instructum." Three sheepfolds, over which the Bishop is watching, are represented in this brass, which, like many of its period, was in all probability the work of some engraver of copperplates for books.

Robinson was "a prelate of great gravity and temperance," says Fuller, in his "Worthies of Cumberland," "very mild in speech. . . . When Queen Elizabeth received his homage, she gave him many gracious words of the good opinion which she conceived of his learning, integrity, and sufficiency for that place; moreover adding, 'that she must ever have a care to furnish that See with a worthy man, for his sake who first set the crown on her head.'" This refers, of course, to Oglethorpe, the only bishop who would consent to perform the ceremony,[1] from which, owing to their unwillingness to acknowledge Elizabeth's disputed succession, the whole bench of bishops absented themselves. The See of Canterbury was vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole. The Archbishop of York (Nicholas Heath) demurred to the English Litany. The Bishop of London (Bonner), the proper representative of the Primate on these occasions, was in the Marshalsea Prison. "The oil was grease, and smelt ill." Still, the ceremony, which took place on 15th January 1559, was completed, and Elizabeth was elected and "proclaimed" by the singular but expressive title, "Empress from the Orcade Isles unto the Mountains Pyrenee." At the Coronation Mass the

[1] He is said to have died of remorse for this act.

Abbot of Westminster, John Howman of Feckenham, took his part for the last time. The last mitred abbot of England, he is described as "a short man, of a round visage, fresh colour, affable and pleasant," and appears to have been one of the few characters of that age who, without any powerful abilities, commands a general respect from his singular moderation and forbearance.

The backs of the stalls in the choir-aisles exhibit paintings more curious than beautiful, and ascribed to Prior Gondibour (c. 1484), of the Apostles, and subjects from the lives of St Antony, St Cuthbert, and St Augustine of Hippo. They were discovered during the restorations of 1853-56 beneath a coating of wash, and are chiefly remarkable from their legends and inscriptions being in English.

The present organ was built in 1856 by the late Henry Willis, the pipes on the east front of the case being decorated by Owen Jones, though by some this piece of work is attributed to Hardman. The 32-feet metal pipes which now form the front facing the nave were added subsequently. It is a remarkably fine specimen of Willis' powers, though the mechanism is now somewhat antiquated. Under the present organist, Mr Sydney H. Nicholson, the choir of Carlisle Cathedral bids fair to become one of the best in the north of England, and admirers of the older schools of cathedral music will find them very adequately represented in the weekly service lists. During a recent visit I was much struck (*inter alia*) with the rendering of Thomas Attwood Walmisley's noble anthem, "If the Lord Himself had not been on our side."

There have been several organs at Carlisle since the "one payre" mentioned in the Cathedral Inventory of 1571. The immediate predecessor of the present instrument was one built in 1805 by Avery, of whom some account was given in the chapter on Winchester Cathedral. This was sold in 1855 to Hexham Abbey,

where a portion of it at any rate is, together with the case.

Bishop Smith gave a new organ in 1684,[1] but whether this was supplanted by Avery's or whether there was an intermediate one, put up, perhaps, when Lord Camelford "improved" the choir in 1764, I have not been able to satisfactorily ascertain.

Externally, notwithstanding the disparity in the dimensions of the eastern and western portions, Carlisle Cathedral presents an appearance of much dignity. The view from the south-east is a particularly fine one, and taking in as it does the grand Norman transept, the mingled Early English and Late Decorated of the square-ended choir, and the Perpendicular tower, which does not occupy more than two-thirds of the width of the choir, being raised upon the old Norman substructure, constitutes quite an epitome of English architecture from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.

By those who may happen to be spending their vacation in the lovely Lake country, a visit to "Merrie Carlisle," and a day devoted to unravelling the numerous archæological puzzles presented by its cathedral, will not be deemed misspent.

[1] This took the place of an earlier instrument, now in the parish church of Appleby. To judge from its case and tone, this organ would appear to belong to the first half of the seventeenth century.

It is a very pretty and substantially unaltered instrument, with three towers of plain pipes, some of which are stamped out in little "studs," and displaying in its case the enrichments in vogue at the period of its erection.

CHAPTER V

OXFORD

AMID that congeries of buildings which render Oxford so delightful a field of research to the student of ecclesiastical architecture, whether in its mediæval, Renaissance, or modern aspect, there is one that is too frequently overlooked, or made the subject of much unfair criticism, chiefly from the fact of its elevation, in theory, to a rank to which its architectural character does not entitle it. In the first place, Oxford Cathedral was never a church of the first rank, but a twelfth-century priory church turned five hundred years later into a cathedral. In the second, what once existed is now no longer seen in perfection, for the west front and nearly half the nave were destroyed by Wolsey when he built the great quadrangle of his Cardinal—now Christ Church—College. However, bigness is no criterion of excellence, and if Oxford is inferior in dimensions and magnificence to most of its sister cathedrals, it is valuable in the main as a singularly rich and beautiful specimen of late Anglo-Norman work, while in the additions that subsequent eras have made to it, we have examples for study as numerous as they are refined. It presents, moreover, an archi-

tectural problem, to be alluded to hereafter, which our most expert antiquaries have not succeeded in solving satisfactorily.

History, a little mixed up indeed with the miraculous and fabulous, yet still history, the best of the age obtainable, tells us that buildings devoted to God's service were erected here between 720 and 740, by Didan, one of the kings under the Heptarchy, for his daughter Frideswyde, and that that lady herself founded a nunnery on the spot, dying as abbess after a life of monastic piety in or about the latter year. The church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and All Saints, was, in all probability, a structure of the simplest form, consisting of a nave and aisles three bays in length, and each terminating in an apse. In 1887 the foundations of three apses were discovered just to the east of the lateral chapels added in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the Norman church, thus pointing to the probability that this simple Saxon basilica stood on the site now covered by these accretions.

The history of the religious house following the death of St Frideswyde is involved in obscurity, but one fact stands out from the long impenetrable mist, that the convent was for some time under the rule of Benedictine monks. That was in the days of King Edgar (958-975), who, with St Dunstan as his chief adviser, favoured the restoration of religious houses ruined in the troublous times of preceding kings, and greatly patronised the monastic government. It was, doubtless, during this period of religious activity that the nucleus of the present cathedral was begun just to the south of the Saxon church. Then the house seems to have fallen into the hands of secular canons. Early in the eleventh century Etheldred the Unready, the king "without counsel," determined to get rid of the Danes throughout his dominions by one stroke, because it was made known

to the king that they would "treacherously bereave him of his life, and afterwards all his witans, and after that have his kingdom without any gainsaying." This atrocious and impolitic act took place on St Brice's day, 13th November 1002. At Oxford, some of the townspeople—Danes—took refuge in St Frideswyde's, but it was fired by the canons. The Saxon Romanesque church lay for some time roofless, and exposed to the fury of the elements, but was subsequently restored by Etheldred.

The king's brother-in-law was Richard II., Duke of Normandy, a great patron of architecture, and it is not unlikely that one or more of the ecclesiastics from the East who used to visit him, may have come over to England and assisted Etheldred in this and other works. Queen Emma, too, who subsequently founded St Edmundsbury, may have used her influence in favouring a design whose dimensions would have agreed to some extent with the more artistic architecture of her own Normandy.

How long the seculars held sway here it is not easy to determine. It might have been till 1122. There are grounds for belief that Theobald Stampensis, who inaugurated the intellectual life of Oxford, lectured under the auspices of St Frideswyde's. He was hostile to the monks, and his lecturing would have taken place previous to 1122, when the secular canons were replaced by Augustinians, who, not very strongly or actively perhaps, ruled the house until their suppression in 1524 or 1525. It was about forty years after their establishment that the Saxon church was greatly enlarged, assuming that form which, in the main—rich Late Norman—it wears at the present time. Sir Gilbert Scott and Professor Willis pooh-pooh'd the notion that any portion of the existing church was of a date prior to the middle of the twelfth century, but it would appear that recent research has reversed their judgment. Until the middle of the thirteenth century the church

retained its simple plan. It had a square-ended choir of five bays with a short aisleless sanctuary; transepts both with eastern and western aisles; a central tower and spire; and a nave of eight bays, while to the south lay the monastic buildings.

During the Early English period the church received a Lady Chapel, which, owing to the proximity of the east end of the choir to the city wall, could not be built in the usual place, so a spacious one with a separately gabled roof was built on to the north aisle of the choir. In the following century a further addition was made to the building by the Chapel commonly styled the Latin Chapel. A graceful specimen of the Decorated style in its curvilinear phase, it lies alongside the Lady Chapel, and has its roof also separately gabled, though it is slightly wider, extending beyond the line of the northern transept, whose eastern aisle was much disturbed by the erection of these parallel chapels. Externally they impart a very agreeable appearance to the cathedral viewed from the north-east; but from within, as the eye of the visitor who stations himself beneath the lantern wanders amid the pillars and arches branching away in so many directions, the vastest of our churches can scarcely give more thoroughly the idea of infinity.

Somewhat earlier in the Decorated period the original Norman fenestration of the east end, which doubtless consisted of a couple of round-headed windows surmounted by a wheel, was removed, and a tall window of five lights with intersecting mullions foliated, substituted. Of the same date as the Latin Chapel (c. 1350) is a window in one of the chapels attached to the south transept, concerning whose beautiful reticulated tracery something will be said anon.

In Perpendicular times the most important alterations effected were in the choir, which received its present groined roof with pendant bosses; and in

the nave, where Perpendicular windows were inserted in the aisles, and a flat roof of simple character given to it in lieu of the original Norman one.

The house of Augustinians that had been established early in the twelfth century by Guimond, lasted till that fatal measure of Cardinal Wolsey which opened the door to that far more ruthless sacrilege and desecration which was to follow. St Frideswyde's priory was among those confiscated by him for the erection of his colleges, and was chosen as the site for the magnificent foundation designed for Oxford.

Wolsey's idea was, however, no new one. At the beginning of the collegiate system, several attempts were made to convert monastic institutions into places of education. The first attempt was made at Cambridge in the thirteenth century by Hugh de Balsham, who proposed to convert the hospital of St John into a college. After struggling with some opposition, this project failed, and he was obliged to withdraw his students, though at a later period his design was prosecuted with better success. In 1456 Magdalen College, Oxford, was quietly formed out of an hospital also dedicated to St John Baptist, the Superior of which went out on a pension for life. At Cambridge, in 1496, the nuns of St Radegund's were ejected by Bishop Alcock of Ely, and their house converted into the present Jesus College. Thus the course of change was not attributable to Wolsey alone, but was part of a system already commenced; but as the precedent for the general dissolution of monasteries, it showed how changes, which at first sight might appear to be small and indisputably advantageous, sometimes lead to innovations which proceed until they entirely subvert the institutions they pretend to reform.

Wolsey's idea for his Cardinal College would have been a magnificent idea had he been permitted to carry it into execution. He contemplated a body composed of sixty canons regular, and forty others,

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of six professors, other tutors, and a very large choir.

His statutes have pages upon pages of well-considered regulations for the society he was forming, and from them we can grasp the idea prominent in their founder's mind, to establish, found, and endow an institution for the good of the entire realm, a place of instruction in good morals and good learning, where every good that could be inculcated by noble example, sincere and pure teaching, should have full opportunity to flourish.

Wolsey demolished the west front and half the nave of St Frideswyde's priory church, intending to build a new chapel on the north side of his vast and dreary, because never properly finished quadrangle, where his magnificent conceptions would scarcely have stopped short until he had rivalled or surpassed the chapel of King's at Cambridge or the royal chapels of Windsor and Westminster.

A difference of opinion has always existed as to Wolsey's designs with regard to the present cathedral, some inclining to the belief that the demolition of the western part of the nave was but the prelude to a more thorough destruction, and that, pending the erection of a new chapel, only the choir and chapels were to be left, with the transepts as an ante-chapel, like New, Magdalen, All Souls' and Wadham, or, more accurately, like the present state of Merton, where, it will be recollected, the ante-chapel is the transept of the intended cruciform church of St John the Baptist of which the nave was never built.

Be this as it may, the Cardinal's disgrace in 1529 put an end to his magnificent, though it must be said, in some respects mischievous scheme. The funds appropriated for it were seized by the king, who subsequently continued its founder's designs; but, instead of a hundred canons, royal bounty could only find a maintenance for twelve, and the style of the house was changed from Cardinal's, first to King's

College, and afterwards into Christ Church. In the interim the monasteries had fallen, and several new bishoprics had been created, partly out of their suppressed revenues. Among them a bishop, a dean, and six canons were established in the great abbey of Oseney, close to Oxford.[1] The house was, however, soon dissolved, and since he felt that there must be a cathedral in these parts, Henry transferred the bishop's seat from Oseney to Oxford, thereby dissolving his own foundation, and allowing that magnificent pile to pass into oblivion and to die by inches. The fate of this great abbey, which for the beauty of its architecture and arrangements was the wonder not only of Englishmen but of foreigners, is one that few can recall without giving way to fresh bursts of grief and renewed pity, and, like Dr Johnson in the middle of the eighteenth century, it is impossible to look on the solitary arch near Oseney Mill without "indignation." Now the whilom conventual, then collegiate, church of St Frideswyde becomes under its new dedication to Our Lord, at once the cathedral church of the Bishop and his Chapter, and the college chapel of the students, in which dual character it has continued to the present day.

The church, truncated by Wolsey, stood for more than three centuries detached from the eastern side of the great quadrangle of Christ Church; but the west window, a Decorated one of five lights, was, though impoverished in its tracery, built up again, together with a Norman string-course below it.

During the Laudian epoch, and under the rule of Dean Duppa, the original stalls placed in the choir by Cardinal Wolsey were removed into the Latin Chapel, where they may still be seen, and new woodwork, not a very favourable specimen of its age, substituted. A heavy screen, but of better character than the other fittings, was erected within the eastern

[1] The title of Bishop of Oseney is never met with.

arch of the tower to support the organ, thus completely shutting off the choir from the nave, which was treated simply as a sermon place — its only furniture being the pulpit, a magnificent example of the somewhat barbaric richness of the early part of the seventeenth century, with a pelican crowning its canopy, and some seats placed opposite to it for the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors. Such an arrangement, though doubtless solemn and impressive, was productive of much inconvenience and crowding in the narrow square-ended choir, its whole area between the stalls being filled with benches; while on either side there was a gallery for the accommodation of the choir, when on "Surplice Days" the whole body of students and commoners attended.[1] Behind the wainscotting that formed the backs to the stalls were closets or private pews assigned to members of the dignitaries' families. One of these "darksome dens," as they are styled by a writer in *The Ecclesiologist* of 1847, is alluded to by Mrs Gordon in the "Life and Correspondence" of her father, Dr Buckland, the eminent geologist, who, for ten years prior to his becoming Dean of Westminster in 1845, was a Canon Residentiary of Christ Church.

"Dr Buckland's family," his daughter tells us, "never missed Evensong in the cathedral on Sundays. The seat allotted to the Canon's ladies was like a very long saloon railway carriage, with a seat running along one side of it. As this pew had only occasional oval openings in the heavy woodwork to admit the light and air, its darkness and stuffiness may be imagined."

[1] Some idea of the choir at Oxford Cathedral as it appeared on these occasions, from the early part of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, may be gleaned from the drawing by the elder Pugin, entitled "Christ Church Choir" in Ackerman's History of Oxford, published very early in the last century.

With munificent intention, Dean Duppa presented the church with a large quantity of stained glass. But it is to be regretted that in order to accommodate it, many of the windows were despoiled of their tracery, the great east window being reduced from five to three lights, and those in the aisles of the nave and transept altered from Perpendicular ones of three lights to ugly ones of two acutely-pointed compartments without any foliations. Of these, one specimen alone remains, the window at the west end of the north aisle of the nave. The artist employed by the Dean was Abraham van Linge, a native of Emden in East Friesland, who, with Bernard van Linge[1]—a relative, but how connected is not clearly known—was largely employed in refurnishing our churches and collegiate chapels with painted glass, of which they had been despoiled by Elizabethan Puritans of the Bishop Jewell type.

Van Linge's windows in Oxford Cathedral continued no longer than till 1648, for being, as Anthony à Wood tells us, "anti-Christian, diabolical, and popish," they were "at first broken, and to prevent their utter ruin by the restless and never-to-be-satisfied Puritans, all taken down, so that possibly had the old windows remained till then, they might have stood to this day." Of this seventeenth-century glass Oxford Cathedral can show two specimens. One is the window at the west end

[1] The only works of Bernard van Linge ascertained to be extant in England, are the east window of Wadham College Chapel, Oxford, and that in the Chapel of Wroxton Abbey, near Banbury. Abraham van Linge's works are more numerous. Besides that in the cathedral at Oxford, he executed the glass in the apse of Queen's College Chapel. These windows were executed in 1635, but were repaired by Joshua Price and replaced on the rebuilding of the chapel between 1692 and 1715 under Wren and his pupil Hawksmoor. University College Chapel also boasts a goodly supply of the glass of Van Linge, whose work, although not in general deficient in depth of colour, sadly wants brilliancy.

of the north aisle representing Jonah sitting under the gourd contemplating Nineveh. It is more curious than beautiful, making the loss of the rest of this glass hardly a matter for regret. The other window, ascribed, though on insufficient evidence, to Van Linge, is that above the monument of Bishop King — last abbot of Oseney and first bishop of Oxford (d. 1557)—in the south aisle of the choir. Inserted by two canon Kings of Christ Church in the reign of Charles I.—Henry, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and his brother John — it escaped destruction during the Puritan usurpation, by being taken out and secreted till the days of the Restoration, when decency and order having once more resumed their sway, the verger's rod, still used, was made anew, and on it engraved that verse of the Psalms, "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion, then were we like unto them that dream."

The stained glass inserted by Abraham Van Linge in the great east window of the choir must have suffered more than the rest, for very early in the eighteenth century it was filled with entirely new work by Joshua Price, by the munificence of Rev. Peter Birch, Chaplain of the cathedral, and afterwards Prebendary of Westminster. As a specimen of the work of its epoch it was interesting, and remained in position until fifty years ago, when on an entire redistribution of the fittings in the choir under Dean Liddell, it gave place to other work, of which I shall say something anon.

These alterations in the choir included the removal of the screen, and the placing of the organ in the south transept; but this arrangement, carried out under the direction of Mr Robert Billing, though in some degree conservative,[1] was only regarded as a

[1] As economy was necessary, the old woodwork was all used up again in a new form with much ingenuity, not a barrow-full being carried out, nor a single foot of new wood introduced.

temporary one, while funds were accumulating for a more costly refurnishing. This formed a part, fifteen years later, of a somewhat extensive scheme of restoration under Sir Gilbert Scott, when between 1871 and 1874 the "carpenter's Gothic" windows with which the seventeenth century had endowed the church had their Perpendicular tracery given back to them, a fifth bay and a short aisleless vestibule added to the nave, thus joining the church to the eastern side of the great quadrangle, from which a new entrance was made into it, besides other improvements which will be pointed out in the course of the following more detailed architectural description.

So closely is Oxford Cathedral hemmed in by collegiate buildings and gardens pertaining to them, that a good general view of it is hardly obtainable; perhaps the most generally known is that which I have selected for illustration to this chapter, showing a portion of the nave and south transept with, at their junction, the very Early English tower and spire —a beautiful and solemn thing, in spite of cavillers.

There is a certain blunt squareness about the east end of the choir, consequent upon its assuming a rectangular instead of a gabled form. This, however, is not unpleasing, but the addition of Early English pinnacles, like those of the north transepts, to the flanking turrets which do not rise above the central portion would not only be an improvement, but would impart a grace to the composition which at present it somewhat lacks.

Until the formation of the present entrance from the eastern side of "Tom Quad," the west front of Oxford Cathedral stood isolated from the college, and the church could only be approached by a door

During the progress of the work, a curious small subterranean chamber or crypt was discovered immediately under the eastern arch of the tower. A description of this, with an engraving, was given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1856.

in the northern walk of the Perpendicular cloisters, a considerable portion of which was destroyed when the nave was curtailed by Wolsey. The Chapter-house, entered from the eastern walk by a doorway of the richest Late Norman architecture, is a fine parallelogram in the Lancet phase of Early English, and in many respects resembles the contemporary house at Chester. It has four bays relieved by tripled lancets, and the ribs of the simply groined vault spring from clustered shafts resting on corbelled heads. The great quintuplet of lancets at the east end is of singular beauty, the manner in which the three central ones, which are glazed, are divided at half their height into lesser lancets is very remarkable. Since the careful restoration to which it was subjected in 1880-81, the Chapter-house at Oxford Cathedral is quite one of its gems. Until then it was divided into two equal parts by a solid wall, and fifty years ago one of these portions served as a refectory for the cathedral choristers.

The first thing that strikes one on entering Oxford Cathedral is that arrangement of arches which has given rise to such antiquarian controversy. Each bay of the nave and choir is in appearance double, and the capitals of the columns supporting the arches are, as it were, cut in two, one half towards the aisles standing at a much lower elevation than the other half towards the nave or choir. In his "Memorials of Oxford," published in 1837, Dr Ingram, the learned President of Trinity College, is of opinion that these two tiers of arches mark two different dates of the building; the lower belonging to the church restored by Etheldred the Unready after its injury during the massacre of the Danes in 1003; and the upper when the Saxon church was enlarged and made to assume its present form during the reign of Henry I., somewhat in the same manner as William of Sens grafted his Transitional work at Canterbury on to the Norman of Ernulf and Conrad.

Dr Ingram's theory was stoutly refuted by Professor Willis and Sir Gilbert Scott, who maintained that the church was an entirely new creation of the twelfth century. This was in the 'fifties and 'sixties of the last century. Since then, however, a closer study of Anglo-Saxon archæology has caused the tide to turn in favour of Dr Ingram's theory, the late Professor Freeman opining, though somewhat guardedly, that the cathedral "might be, in the main portions of the fabric, a monument of the later days of Saxon art, and thus the evidence between the conflicting statements which would assign it, some to the days of Etheldred II., others to those of Henry I., seem very evenly balanced. In the former case we have a complete minster of comparatively small size, but of the fullest cathedral type belonging to the early part of the eleventh century." Advocates of the purely twelfth-century theory account for the presence of the arcade between the two arches from the fact that the same feature occurs at Romsey and St Cross, Winchester, both Late Norman buildings. On the other hand, those who hold the opposite view maintain that the said arcade which now forms the triforium was the clerestory of the eleventh-century building, and that the half of the short, stout pillars, with their low boldly chiselled capitals which faces the nave or choir, was cut away by the Norman architect when he introduced his much loftier half columns.

Leaving the two parties to chew the cud of perplexity, all that can be said is, that if the lower range of arches and its superimposed arcading *is* of pre-Conquest date, it is as valuable as it is wonderful. On the other hand, if the purely late twelfth-century theory be accepted, the arrangement can only be considered an almost unique and highly beautiful one.

The original twelfth-century clerestory, lighted by a single window to each bay, seen through a detached

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triple arcade, appears in the transepts and nave. In the former the windows are round-headed, but in the latter pointed, since that was the last part of the church to feel the influence of the alterations. In the choir, although the original twelfth-century walls remain, the clerestory windows are obtuse-headed insertions of three lights, cut through the Romanesque walls and forming part of that scheme for perpendicularising the choir commenced just before the time of Wolsey, and which gave us that expiring effort of Gothic art, the vaulted roof, which, with its multiplicity of ribs, bosses and pendants, is not only one of the most gorgeous, but probably one of the most complicated examples of groining without fan-tracery. From a most graceful boss in the vault above the sanctuary a sweet face of Our Lord gazes benignly down.

Having completed the vaulting of the choir, which hitherto had only one of those flat wooden roofs so generally thrown over their wide central spaces by Anglo-Norman architects, the canons commenced the same process upon the north transept. Two Perpendicular windows were inserted in the clerestory at the north end, and the space over them marked out for vaulting; but these two windows and their surroundings were the last of the changes; the doom of the Chapter had been fixed, and the Papal Bull had come. In the nave, preparations had been made for vaulting, as may be seen from the slender shafts with delicately foliaged capitals supporting the circular tie beams of the present roof, an elaborate, low-pitched timber one with richly decorated panelling. Throughout the church the aisles are groined in stone, that in the nave being distinctly Early English.

The fenestration of Oxford Cathedral presents much variety. To the windows in the upper parts of the church I have already alluded. In the aisles of the nave and northern transept the windows,

which were mostly Perpendicular insertions, had been gutted of their tracery to make room for Van Linge's "landscape" stained glass, and transmuted into meagre "carpenter's Gothic" affairs of two sharply pointed and uncusped lights. With the exception of one at the west end of the north aisle, these have all had their Perpendicular tracery restored to them by Sir Gilbert Scott, and equipped with stained glass by Clayton and Bell. The large five-light Perpendicular window in the north transept, which appears to have escaped the general seventeenth century impoverishment, was filled with stained glass by the same artists thirty years ago.

As a piece of work in which the subject—the triumph of Michael the Archangel and the celestial host over the Evil Angels—is carried through the entire window, it is most gorgeous, and the head of the central figure, St Michael, has a remarkable sereneness in it—a confidence that his work would be carried out, his battle won. Passing into the lateral chapels adjoining the north aisle of the choir, we find in the outermost—the "Latin," or more correctly St Catherine's, Chapel—three out of the four graceful windows with curvilinear tracery containing fourteenth-century glass of singular beauty. One female figure under a spiral canopy occupies the centre of each light, with grisaille above and below, and the scheme has been admirably carried on by Messrs Clayton and Bell in the fourth window, so that throughout the range we have one continuous central band of rich colour. The east window of this chapel is a cumbrous plate-traceried insertion from the designs of Messrs Dean and Woodward, the architects of the Venetian Gothic Museum, utterly out of keeping with the surroundings. Indeed, it is difficult to know what to wonder at most, the window itself, or the stained glass which fills it. The original window, doubtless a curvilinear one, was debased in the seventeenth

century, and common-sense should have dictated its restoration in that form. The east window of the adjoining Lady Chapel was in its original form a triplet of lancets grouped beneath a pointed arch, but it was replaced during the middle of the fourteenth century, in all likelihood when the adjoining chapel was being built, by a Flowing Decorated one of four lights. The stained glass in this window, by the late Sir Edward Burne Jones,[1] was the gift of Dr Corfe, organist of the cathedral from 1846 to 1882. Corfe was exceedingly fond of long walks, and "in connection with this pedestrian hobby," says Mr G. F. Edwards in some interesting notes on Christ Church contributed to the *Musical Times* of August 1902, "the late Sir John Stainer used to tell the following story; it formed one of his reminiscences of Sir Frederick Ouseley,[2] while the latter was an undergraduate at Christ Church.

"Being a musician of the old type, Dr Corfe rarely changed his stops during the Psalms; Ouseley and his young friends got so accustomed to one particular quality of tone that they named it the Corfe-mixture. Ouseley knew that Dr Corfe always, at the close of one service, prepared his stops for the giving out of the chant at the next; moreover, Dr Corfe was fond of long walks, and made a point of rushing into the organ-loft just in time to place his hands on the keys. This offered a temptation to the undergraduates, which was irresistible. Watching Corfe safely out of the cathedral one morning, Ouseley put in all the prearranged stops, and then

[1] In conjunction with William Morris, Sir Edward Burne Jones executed several other windows in Oxford Cathedral. They are beautiful pictures, but cannot be called church windows.

[2] During the vacancy, lasting some months, between the resignation of William Marshall (organist from 1825 to 1846) and the appointment of Dr Corfe, Sir Frederick Ouseley officiated as organist gratuitously.

drew on each manual the most horrible and startling combination he could think of. When evening service commenced, Ouseley and his friends stood behind a pillar to hear the effect. Sure enough, just as the Psalms approached, Dr Corfe hurried in and placed his hands upon the keys. Everybody in the church gave a start, *except Dr Corfe himself*, who placidly held down the chord while he one by one put in the objectionable registers, and gradually drawing his usual stops, once more reverted to the inevitable 'Corfe-mixture.'"

Here is another Corfe anecdote related by Rev. H. L. Thompson in his interesting "Memoir of Dean Liddell":

"Dr Corfe was sorely plagued by one of the choirmen, whose alto-singing was miserably bad. He came to the Dean: 'Mr Dean, I really cannot have that man singing any longer; he spoils the whole choir. If only he sang bass it would not so much matter, but such an alto is intolerable.' 'Very well, Dr Corfe,' said the Dean, 'I will deal with the matter.' So the choirman was sent for. 'Dr Corfe complains of your singing, and says he cannot have you sing alto any longer, but that it would not be so bad if you sang bass.' 'But, Mr Dean,' rejoined the man, 'I cannot sing bass.' 'Well,' answered Liddell, 'I am no musician, but sing bass you must. Good morning.'"

When Dr Corfe was appointed organist of Oxford Cathedral in 1846, the organ stood upon the screen between the nave and the choir. Ten years later he saw it removed and placed in the south transept, and again in 1871, when it was rebuilt in its present position at the west end of the nave. With its four towers and three flats of pipes, the instrument presents a very noble appearance from the opposite

end of the church, but its grand effect has been considerably impoverished by the removal of the "choir organ" case from the front of it, and the substitution of a curtain. This "choir organ" case is now, absurdly enough, on the other side of the gallery facing the west entrance. It should not be forgotten that Dr Crotch of "Palestine" fame was organist of Christ Church from 1790 to 1807.

Two interesting traditions are maintained in the service at Oxford Cathedral. One is the repetition before the Prayer for the Sovereign at Matins and Evensong, of the Versicle, "O Lord, save the King," with its Response, "And mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee"; the other, the obeisance, made to the Holy Table by the Canons Residentiary as they turn to leave the cathedral at the conclusion of every service.

The Rev. W. H. Havergal, in the Preface to his "Century of Chants" (1870), tells us that Crotch possessed an unusual facility in the use of his hands, and was able to write as easily with his left as with his right. It is also said that, in order to save time, he would often write down the notes of two separate staves of music simultaneously.

The present design of the east end of the choir, with a large wheel window surmounting two small round-headed ones, was ably reproduced from Sir Gilbert Scott's discoveries, so that we are able to form some idea of how this end looked in the latter days of the thirteenth century, before it was endowed with a large Middle Pointed one of five lights, afterwards cut down to three, to receive some stained glass by William Price towards the close of the seventeenth century.

What became of this glass I am unable to discover, but it was replaced in 1854 by other work from the ateliers of Henri Gerente of Paris, the most celebrated

artist of his day in that department. He died of cholera, however, in 1849, when but little progress had been made, and the work was eventually carried out by his less accomplished brother, Alfred.

It represented the principal events in the life of Christ in small medallions, but the drawing was too archaic for the style of the window, and is certainly much better suited to the clerestory lights of the south transept, among which it was distributed when the reconstruction of the east end was taken in hand about 1871. The glass here is by Clayton and Bell, and was the joint gift of Sir John Mowbray and Canon Liddon, the latter of whom is commemorated in one of the most beautiful windows in the cathedral, a short five-light one with interlacing tracery high up at the south end of the transept, and representing the Genealogy of Our Lord. Of the three Norman windows in the south aisle of the choir, two are restorations and one original. The latter contains the curious seventeenth-century glass already alluded to as forming a memorial to Bishop King, and which is said to contain the only authentic view remaining of Oseney Abbey. The taller erection on one side of the bishop's coped and mitred effigy represents the great central tower; the other is the second tower at the west end, which it appears to have possessed in common with Ely, Wymondham, and Bury.

The three-light window at the east end of the baptistery or Chapel of St Lucy, which opens out of the second bay of the south transept on its eastern side, is of great beauty, its reticulated tracery starting from considerably below the spring of the arch. It is filled with stained glass, some ancient fragments being worked up with the modern. Among the former we find the legend of St Martin sharing his cloak with a poor half-clothed beggar, to discover afterwards that it was Our Lord Himself whom he had clothed. In another medallion is St Augustine, the learned Doctor of the Church, while a third represents the

Martyrdom of St Thomas à Becket, whose effigy was deprived of its head when Henry VIII. stupidly, for it caused the loss of thousands of mediæval art treasures, gave orders for the destruction of superstitious images or pictures. A fourth panel shows St Cuthbert holding in his hand the head of Oswald, king and saint, the greatest royal statesman before the Conquest.

The length of the south transept is curtailed, its southern wall being divided into two stages. The lower forms a slype or passage leading from the cloisters to the cemetery; the upper, now a sacristy, was, until the last restoration, the verger's residence. The Early English work here is of singular beauty.

From this transept the view across the choir is a most picturesque one, embracing three avenues of columns, monumental effigies with gabled canopies, stained glass, and that tall structure rich in tabernacle work which stands beneath the easternmost bay, between the Lady and Latin Chapels.

It had a double purpose, the upper part being intended as a watch chamber to see that no one approached the adjacent shrine of St Frideswyde for unholy purposes; the lower serving as an altar tomb, the matrices of two brasses, a lady and gentleman of Henry VII.'s time, pointing out its original use. At the Reformation, the shrine erected above the relics of the sainted Abbess went the way of such things; but the remains were discovered not many years ago by mere chance, four of the largest pieces having formed the casing of a well at the south-west of the cathedral, whilst another was discovered in the churchyard by the verger. The workmanship of these pieces is among the most lovely of the thirteenth century, and an eminent botanist has recognised each of the plants, cleverly intermingled with birds in the design, as having its habitat near the Cherwell and Isis.

Supplemented by modern work the shrine of St

Frideswyde has been restored to what was no doubt its original place, immediately in front of the Mary Altar, the painted decorations on the groining and on the arches of the bay opposite the rich altar tomb of Elizabeth, Lady Montecute, indicating that this was the locality destined for it.

In the Latin Chapel is some fine Late Perpendicular stall work, in all probability a portion of that with which Wolsey furnished the choir, and removed hence when Dean Duppa refitted it in the seventeenth century. Of Duppa's work all that remains is the really splendid pulpit and the screen supporting the organ, whose noble case has been preserved through all the changes the church has undergone within the last half century.[1] It now stands within the first bay of the nave at the west end, the space beneath it forming an ante-church.

In designing the reredos, completed in 1881, Mr G. F. Bodley wisely selected that period when English church furniture was at its best, viz. about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Executed in Dumfries sandstone, it takes the form of a triptych, consisting of a tall square-headed central compartment containing a sculpture of the Crucifixion in rosso antico beneath a rich canopy of Perpendicular tabernacle work, and a lower one on either side of it, each with two ogee-headed niches holding figures carved in the same material. To the left are St Michael and St Stephen; to the right St Gabriel and St Augustine. Beneath the central group runs the legend in old English characters, "Per crucem tuam, libera nos Domine." The candlesticks and the books, the gifts of two Dr Kings, relatives of King, Bishop of London (1611-21), date as far back as the days of Charles I., and, together with the side hangings of rich material, impart an

[1] When the church was rearranged in 1856 under Billing, the organ was removed from the eastern arch of the tower into the south transept. Originally a work of Father Schmidt, it was rebuilt in 1884 by Willis.

THE REREDOS

appearance of that warmth to the east end of the cathedral which so many others desiderate.

A richly worked banner or two suspended in the sanctuary of an English cathedral would make it look a very different place.

The throne was erected in 1876 as a memorial to that reformer of the episcopate, Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford from 1845 till his promotion in 1869 to Winchester, and there is a truthfulness in that likeness of him at the back which is remarkable. So true is it that in certain lights it is possible to catch the idea of humour which so often played upon his countenance. It was on 14th February 1556 that from near this spot, the sentence of degradation was pronounced upon Archbishop Cranmer, but the actual ceremony took place in the cloisters.

The *chorus cantorum* in Oxford Cathedral is now formed beneath the tower, whose graceful clustered shafts supporting the arches—round towards nave and choir, and pointed towards the transepts—form, together with the lantern above them, one of the finest features of the church. It will be observed that the sides of the great piers facing the centre of the church are left free from shafts, doubtless with the view of affording room for the stall backs.

Upon the south-western pier just above the stalls is the quiet, unobtrusive monument—a bust within a medallion — of the versatile Aldrich, who became Dean of Christ Church in 1689 on the flight of Massey, the Roman Catholic intruded by James II.

Aldrich, styled by Macaulay "a polite though not profound scholar, and jovial, hospitable gentleman," issued in 1691 a small treatise on logic, "Artis Logicæ Compendium," which long continued the popular text book. As an architect he designed the Peckwater Quadrangle at Christ Church, All Saints' Church in the High Street, and in all probability the chapel of Trinity College in conjunction with Wren; and wrote "Elementa Architecturæ Civilis ad Vetruvii veterumque disciplinam," translated in

1789 by Rev. Philip Smyth, Fellow of New College, under the title "Elements of Civil Architecture according to Vitruvius and other Ancients."

As a musician Aldrich was a prolific composer of services and anthems, many of which are still in use in "quires and places where they sing."[1] His well-known catch, "Hark the bonny Christ Church Bells," first appeared in 1726 in the *Pleasant Musicall Companion*, also his "Smoking Catch, to be sung by four men smoking their pipes, not more difficult to smoke than diverting to hear." The Dean's passion for the fragrant weed is illustrated by a story of a student who betted that he would find him smoking at 10 A.M., and who lost his bet because Aldrich was not smoking, but filling his pipe.

The woodwork of the stalls and seats introduced during the restorations of 1871-74, although substantial and handsome, suffers from its too close assimilation in style with that of the surrounding architecture. Had its execution been delayed for another ten years or so, something very different would have been the result.

In its twofold character of cathedral and college chapel, Christ Church is seated longitudinally throughout, and its appearance on surplice days, filled with white-robed students and undergraduates, is very remarkable.

No visitor to this City of Holy Places should omit to attend the five o'clock service on Sunday in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford.

[1] The MSS. of many of these are in the Ely, Tenbury, Tudway, and Christ Church collections.

CHAPTER VI

THE WELSH CATHEDRALS

LLANDAFF, BANGOR, AND ST ASAPH

THE Welsh cathedrals, although three of them at least have none of the magnificence of the English, are yet entitled to the deepest interest as the representatives of that mysterious British Church of which no man can tell us who was the founder—a Church which was teaching Christian doctrine and discharging holy offices centuries before Gregory the Great made his memorable puns in the Roman slave market, or Augustine and his monks bore their silver cross along the road from Ebbsfleet to Canterbury. At one time the number of Welsh bishoprics was more numerous, but as years rolled on they were merged into those which now exist—Llandaff and St David's, where an elegance and beauty of detail, hardly to be surpassed in the noblest churches of England, distinguish their respective mother churches; and Bangor and St Asaph's, whose cathedrals partake in a remarkable degree of the general coarseness and poverty of architecture prevalent in the northern districts of the Principality.

It is remarkable that, unlike the ecclesiastical organisation of other provinces, there is no satisfactory evidence of a primacy or an archbishopric.

It is needless to say that no part of the primitive cathedrals have come down to our times; but it has always been fondly believed that the present buildings at least comprised the sites which were hallowed by the early saints and founders—David, Dubricius, Deniol and Kentigern.

The early church or oratory of Llandaff is said not to have exceeded 40 feet in length, and the other churches were in all probability not much larger. But, as the late Professor Freeman, whose assiduous researches into the history and architecture of the two southern cathedrals, Llandaff and St David's, are of such value, remarks:

"These little churches must have spoken to the national feeling in a manner which their successors could never rival; for it is a strange and not altogether pleasant thought, and one in which Celt and Saxon may singularly unite, that the greatest advances in architectural skill and splendour in both England and Wales alike were the result of a foreign occupation, that not only the castle but the minster itself were, in fact, badges of national misery and humiliation."

In England such a feeling suggested by the learned Professor hardly ever existed, for the cathedrals have, from their very earliest days, been looked upon as the glories of the country. But who can tell whether some national prejudice of the kind may not have been in operation against the Welsh cathedrals.

At any rate, almost from the time of the breach with Rome in the sixteenth century records can be pointed to indicating the indifference with which the buildings were regarded until they fell into a condition than which nothing could be more discreditable to their guardians. Llandaff Cathedral had, at the time of our late Queen's accession, become fairly obsolete. The church in its genuine aspect was a ruin, and hardly a picturesque one, for a miserable conventicle in Georgian Grecian

had been run up in the middle of the *débris* for Sunday use. The Chapter was non-resident, the cathedral worship had been unknown for a century and a half; about half a dozen people attended the service, while the rest of the population sat at their doors jeering at those who went; the See was a pauperised and inaccessible village—Browne-Willis, writing in 1718, styles it "the poor desolate church of Llandaff"—and the Bishop lived at the Lakes.[1]

St David's has been more fortunate, though there is a tradition that one of the bishops removed the lead off the cathedral to increase the portions of his five daughters, who were all married to bishops; and even if this is improbable, it at least indicates the manner in which the buildings were treated in Early post-Reformation times. This bishop certainly removed the lead from some portions of the fine palace erected by Bishop Gower, of which the result is the present ruinous condition of the building. Another bishop, if Hollinshead is to be credited, was desirous of demolishing the cathedral in order that it might be re-erected on some more comfortable site. In consequence of neglect, the building became so damp that in his report of 1862 Sir Gilbert Scott said that he never witnessed anything approaching it in a church.

The tide of the great Church Revival of sixty years ago seems never to have reached St David's, for the ecclesiastical periodicals contain frequent complaints respecting the fearful condition of the fabric, and of the slovenly and sordid fashion in which Divine Service was conducted therein.

As for Bangor and St Asaph, they had been allowed to sink so low as to become—particularly the former — almost a by-word. No cathedral in

[1] This was Bishop Richard Watson, who, during his thirty-four years' episcopate, visited his diocese but rarely. At his permanent abode, Calgarth Park, Windermere, he became a great agriculturist and planter, and was among the first to introduce the larch in that district.

the kingdom could compare with it for meanness; indeed, in both cases their ancient architecture had been so overlaid and supplanted by mean and uninteresting botchings, as to require the greatest care and assiduity on the part of the restorer to recover their original forms and details. Happily, at different times within the last forty years, the restoration of all these cathedrals has been undertaken by the best authorities, aided by splendid public and individual munificence, and the result is that each is now a pattern to, instead of being what it once was, a disgrace to its diocese.

LLANDAFF

THE architecture of Llandaff Cathedral, however curious in itself, and therefore interesting to the architectural antiquary, does not, to the superficial observer, appear to rise to a very high order of architectural merit. Yet it contributes several important illustrations to the history of Gothic art, one being the character of its prevailing Early English style (1220-50), which seems to have been very largely influenced by the Somersetshire and Gloucestershire school, as illustrated in Glastonbury, Wells, and Berkeley. Of the entire edifice, the distinguishing feature is the almost total absence of all cathedral characteristics; indeed, without either transepts, porches or central tower, almost without buttresses, Llandaff Cathedral, in its plan and composition, presents the appearance of a magnified parish church rather than one which aspires to cathedral dignity; yet at the same time, its length of nearly 270 feet, its eastern Lady Chapel, and its western pair of towers, vindicate its architectural sufficiency for the rank which it holds. The buildings comprise under the cover of a long roof, only interrupted by the base of a *flèche*, which

has not yet become *un fait accompli*, a nave, choir and presbytery; but these dimensions are only marked in the interior, and there the sole architectural distinction consists in some slight change in the accessorial details, and by the arch dividing the presbytery from the rest of the church.

There is neither triforium nor vaulted roof, but in addition to this uniform presbytery choir and nave, with their arches rising from slender shafts attached to great pier masses, and supporting a clerestory of simple lancets, there advances from the first-named portion a Lady Chapel of a size somewhat disproportioned to the remainder of the church, and having altogether the appearance of a parochial chancel. It is a very beautiful specimen of Early Geometrical architecture, and was the work of Bishop Brays between 1265 and 1287. A Norman arch of great richness recalling that at the east end of the choir of Hereford Cathedral, and surmounted by a Geometrically traceried window of three lights with a blind arch on either side of it, and a circle above, separates this long, low Lady Chapel from the presbytery. This arch, and some remains of the same date in the south wall of the presbytery, belong to the church built on the site of a small humble one erected by his British predecessors, by Urban, the first Bishop of Llandaff after the Norman conquest of the district, and who died in 1134. Westward, the aisles, which are lighted by windows of three compartments with reticulated tracery, terminate in towers, dissimilar both in outline and design. The north-western one, with its coronal of modern pinnacles, features such west country towers as Dundry and St Stephen's, Bristol. It was the work of Jaspar Tudor in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The south-western tower, an entirely modern creation from the designs of Mr Prichard, under whom, in conjunction with the late Mr J. P. Seddon, the work of restoring the cathedral was

carried out, is conceived in a somewhat Northern French version of First Pointed, and has angle pinnacles and an octagonal spire with crockets and bands.

The contrast between the two steeples, although at first sight startling, is not unpleasing, and with the fine original Early English façade between them, produces an effect of much dignity and interest. This façade exhibits an early and very beautiful example of a thirteenth-century triplet. Of the three lancets the central one is loftier than its lateral companions. On the exterior it is separated from them on either side by an acute blank arch, but within, the arch mouldings and clustered jamb-shafts of the three windows occupy the entire width of the nave except where it is pierced for the glazing. The jamb-shafts of the central lancet are also carried in the interior of the church down to the ground, and so are incorporated into the composition of the one western doorway beneath. The door arch is round, supported externally on coupled shafts banded, and with capitals whose early thirteenth-century foliage recalls French rather than English work of that date from its bold and elongated character. The doorway itself has every appearance of having once been a double one of two plain round-headed arches. Professor Freeman always denied the existence at any time of a central shaft, and it is in all probability that, in obedience to so great an authority on the architecture of the Principality, it has never been supplied. Between these two overhanging arches and the main one is a quasi-tympanum containing a small full-length figure of St Dubritius or St Teilo.

Among the illustrations to Bishop Ollivant's "Account of the Condition of Llandaff Cathedral chiefly from 1575 to the Present Time"—a most interesting contribution to ecclesiological literature published in 1860—there is a view of the fine First Pointed west front of St Remi at Rheims as it

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existed before its restoration early in the last century. Dr Ollivant found the resemblance between the façade and that of his own cathedral so striking that he says "it is difficult not to imagine either that the architect of Llandaff was identical with the architect of St Remi, or that, if they were not the same, they had some common type which they adapted to their several works."

The gable above the triplet is pierced by a large single light forming the centre to an arcade adjusted to the slope of the roof, and above all is a trefoiled niche. From the west door there is a descent of several steps into the nave, whose dignity is thereby much increased. It is true that the triforium, the vaulted roof, the great arches of a central tower and other minster-like features, are absent at Llandaff; but these deficiencies are in some measure atoned for by the graceful arcades, the proportions of whose several component members are truly excellent, and by the spirit of harmonious unity pervading them as a whole. Grace and lightness are combined with great solidity, qualifications which, in connection with the peculiar suitableness of its design for such a purpose, renders Llandaff Cathedral of the utmost value to the modern architect as a model for parish churches.

To a degree unknown in our other cathedrals, neglect and ruin settled so heavily upon Llandaff, insomuch that in the early part of the eighteenth century the church had become throughout little better than a mass of ruins. The exact date of the ruin of Llandaff Cathedral has not been ascertained, but as early as 1575 Bishop Blethin, addressing his Chapter, speaks of it as "hæc ruinosa Landavensis ecclesia." He recommended a diminution of the number of persons on the foundation, a policy that led eventually to the entire suppression of the choir and choral services, and ultimately to the performance of all the cathedral and parochial duties of

Llandaff and Whitchurch being imposed upon two vicars choral.

Something was attempted by successive bishops, but very little effected for the repairs of the church. Bishop Bull, while Archdeacon of Llandaff in 1697, speaks of it as "our sad and miserable cathedral." In 1721 it was seriously proposed to remove the See to Cardiff[1] and to abandon the ruin altogether. Instead of this, however, an effort was made ten years later to arrest the progress of dilapidation, and to effect as far as possible a restoration of the church. Praiseworthy indeed, because of the spirit which called it forth, this effort became only the more deplorable from its very strenuousness.

In accordance with the taste and feeling of the period, the Early English nave, so far as it remained under roof, was converted by Wood, the well-known architect of Bath, aided and abetted by one Killin of Cricklade, into a building which has been well compared with a town hall or a Bath pump room. A letter from a Rev. A. Davis to Browne-Willis, the painstaking and assiduous antiquary of the early Hanoverian period, describes this work of *the art then prized* in the following laudatory terms. "The church in the inside, as far as it is ceiled and plastered, *looks exceeding fine*, and when finished it will, in the judgment of most people, be *a very neat and elegant church!*"

And so it came to pass that for the public services of Llandaff Cathedral there existed nothing in an available condition save a conventicle - fashioned choir of classic lath and plaster surmounted by a cupola and urns, and ruins.

At length, after nearly three centuries of neglect, varied by an occasional feeble protest from some

[1] At that time, and even until half a century ago, Llandaff might have been regarded as a village city. Now it is the court end of one of the largest and most thriving towns of South Wales.

zealous antiquary, a better day dawned. In 1842 the office of dean, which had been suspended for more than seven hundred years—Esni, the able coadjutor of Bishop Urban, was its last representative (c. 1120)—was revived in the person of Very Rev. Bruce Knight;[1] and one of his first desires was to show himself a fit architectural successor to Bishop Urban's dean by removing the accumulated disgrace which neglect, ruin, and the worse disfigurement of Italian emplastering had thrown over the fabric of his cathedral. Dean Bruce Knight lived but three years after his accession to his important office, but in this short space of time the Lady Chapel was completely and suitably restored. Under his successor, Dean Conybeare, the work was vigorously pursued, the barbarisms of the eighteenth century were rooted out and the beauty of the thirteenth reinstated, and the result is that a noble and most charming interior has been recovered. By a fortunate coincidence Mr Prichard, the architect, was a native of the place, and was thus enabled to throw his whole heart into the work, in which the Bishop, Dr Ollivant, took the liveliest interest. The restored presbytery, choir, and part of the nave were reopened with a choral service sustained by the choir of Gloucester Cathedral, 16th April 1857, and in July 1869 the whole was completed as we now see it. Ameliorations, ritual and musical, went hand in hand with the architectural; and in a surprisingly short time the services at Llandaff Cathedral became the pride of the diocese instead of what they once were, a by-word to it.

From exigencies of space I am precluded from dwelling as I should like upon the *instrumenta* of

[1] It should, however, be stated that the first impulse to the restoration was given by the Precentor, Rev. Henry Douglas, who for two years in succession, 1835 and 1836, gave up his whole dividend to the disposal of the Chapter.

this cathedral—we miss a choir-screen, by the way —and particularly upon the stained glass, much of which, from the ateliers of Messrs Morris and Marshall, is of great excellence.[1] But there is one feature which has become of such interest in the history of modern English art, that to omit even a brief sketch of it would be unpardonable. I refer to the painted triptych by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, which, fixed in the reredos in 1861,[2] represents Our Lord sprung from high and low as united in the person of David, who was both shepherd and king, and worshipped by high and low (by king and shepherd) at His birth. In the centre of the reredos, which comprises three foliated arcades under crocketed gables, is a large composition representing the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child, to whom an angel is introducing a shepherd and one of the Magi, while a company of angels is grouped in the air behind the low screen or wall of the stable. The Virgin, who is seated on the sinister side of the picture (speaking heraldically), is giving the Child's right hand to be kissed by the representative shepherd; while the Eastern sage kneels on her left hand, with his back to the spectator, and the angel faces the group on the dexter side of the canvas. One of the wings represents David as king and Psalmist; the other David as shepherd. The composition of the whole subject is, for the period of its conception and execution, novel without being far-fetched, and forty-five years have mellowed the tones of the pictures, which evince the most careful and conscientious manipulation. Perhaps the figure of the Psalmist is a little

[1] This glass at Llandaff is little inferior to such other productions of the same artists as that in the ante-chapel of Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge, St John's, Torquay, and St Michael's, Brighton. The glass in the great western triplet is by Powell, and mostly from Mr J. P. Seddon's designs.

[2] The work was disclosed to public view in September 1861. The organ, by Gray and Davison, from the design of Sir Frederick Ouseley, was inaugurated at the same time.

awkward in its *pose*; and the costume—a heavily-embroidered, quasi-sacerdotal vestment, over a coat of chain mail—has afforded a fine field for good painting, but is a thought whimsical. In the more important central group composition and colour are alike good, and the whole is designedly Prae-Raffaellite. The Blessed Virgin is drawn from a *brunette* model,[1] but the somewhat anxious expression and the tangled and dishevelled hair are not iconographically appropriate. In fact, the type adopted by its gifted artist in this picture is too naturalistic to be quite consistent with the rest of the picture. All the angels appear to have been drawn from the same model—a *blonde*, which is in striking contrast to the type chosen for the Virgin.

This repetition is perhaps to be regretted, and both faces would have been improved by a slightly increased idealisation. The leading angel is somewhat incongruously habited. If the stole is worn at all, it should not be treated as a mere flowing riband. The criticisms of certain details which I have thus been constrained to make on this triptych, do not, I need hardly say, make any abatement to the high praise due to its distinguished artist, and Llandaff Cathedral is happy in the possession of a work which has long passed into the domain of history. The very beautiful candlesticks on the retable are the work of Mr W. Bainbridge Reynolds, one of our most accomplished practitioners in this branch of ecclesiastical art.

The analysis of the growth of the present cathedral out of Bishop Urban's little Norman structure is a most interesting one, and those who would follow it up should peruse Professor Freeman's remarks on its architecture, published in 1850 by Pickering, and

[1] It is in this picture of the Nativity at Llandaff that we see for the first time the face of the lady who inspired so much of Rossetti's later work—Miss Bowden, afterwards Mrs William Morris. This is, perhaps, the most beautiful portrait of her.

the same indefatigable antiquary's history of it which first appeared in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, but which was afterwards published in volume form, considerably enlarged and amply illustrated. It is impossible, however, to quit the subject of Llandaff Cathedral without commemorating the great beauty of its situation at the bottom of a deep glen, with a stream running through it. This surrounding ground forms the churchyard, and has partaken of the general restoration, being laid out with great care. The entrance is by a very picturesque lych gate, and among the monuments, many of which are of good design, is a lofty cross on steps in memory of Dean Conybeare.

This cathedral once possessed a detached bell-tower like Evesham, Salisbury and Worcester, and which must have been of grand dimensions, for it measured 42 feet square at the base. The celebrated "Great Peter" bell of Exeter formerly hung here, but was expatriated in the fifteenth century by Jasper Tudor, sent to the "metropolis of the West," and given to Bishop Courtenay in exchange for five small bells. On the largest is the inscription, "When I call, God calls."

BANGOR

THE See of Bangor is supposed to have been founded by St Deniol or Daniel in 584, and the name of the place, *Ban-chor*—the head, or chief choir,—indicates that he either found or established there one of those companies of cenobites which were then not uncommon in Wales. What kind of church may have been then built is unrecorded. It is not even known who were the bishops of the diocese during the long period from 584 to 1092, when the continuous history begins. The Welsh chronicles assert that Edgar, when he advanced to Bangor, in 975, built there a church "on the north side of the cathedral," and close to it; this is the earliest mention of a cathedral.

The church is supposed to have lasted until the reign of Henry VII., but the cathedral to have been destroyed by a Norman army in 1071.

The building which probably was erected in succession to this, was burnt during the Welsh wars of Edward I. During the restoration effected under Sir Gilbert Scott between 1869 and 1873, remains of this structure were discovered which gave some clue to its planning. A small portion of the south wall of the choir, with a walled-up window and a narrow buttress, being evidently Norman work, a cutting was made into the wall; and as the buttress continued within it, it was plain that all eastward of this point must have been later work, and subsequently the foundations of an apse springing from the buttress were laid bare. The Norman cathedral was therefore of less length than the present building, and terminated, as was usual, in a semicircular apse. A base course was found extending westwards from the buttress for some feet, and it reappeared in the east wall of the south transept and continued to within 12 feet of the end of the wall, when it turned inward, thus proving that the Norman transept was also

shorter than the present one. The bases of the Norman piers were found beneath the remains of a later work, and among the *débris* was a portion of a shaft with the zig-zag ornament, the back being square, as if to stand in some recess. The limited extent of the Norman work points to the certainty that the existing cathedral dates from the time of Bishop Anian (1267-1305). He was not, however, able to complete it, as Bishop Ringstead, who died in 1366, left £100 towards the work. The cathedral was scarcely erected when it was burnt by Welshmen under Owen Glendower, in 1404. There is no record of the rebuilding until the time of Bishop Deane (1496-1500), when the choir was begun, the bishop leaving a crozier and mitre of great value to his successor, on condition that he completed it. Bishop Skervington, or Skeffington (1509-33), rebuilt the nave and transepts, and the western tower. It is needless to follow the subsequent work; but, as in every case, the design of the original building was disregarded, the cathedral became in course of time a mass of inconsistencies, with "the appearance of a large but unambitious and somewhat uninteresting parish church." At the time Sir Gilbert Scott was placed in charge of it for restoration, viz., about 1866, no cathedral in the kingdom was in a more deplorable state. The architect himself, in describing its condition, said that

"while the neighbourhood has been continually increasing in wealth, while it has become the resort of tourists from every part of the kingdom, and has become possessed (to facilitate the vast amount of traffic which passes through it) of some of the greatest wonders of modern engineering art, its cathedral has gradually sunk into such a low estate as to become almost a by-word, no cathedral in the United Kingdom being equal to it in meanness."

It was mainly during the latter half of the eighteenth

NAVE LOOKING EAST

BANGOR . . . . . CATHEDRAL

century that the building fell into this condition, for Browne-Willis, who saw it in 1721, says that it was very lightsome, the nave and pillars being very clean, that the floor of the nave was well flagged, with the exception of a space where ordinary folks were commonly buried, that the roof was covered throughout with lead, and ceiled within with timber, and that in the ceiling of the nave there were nine beams well wrought, and beautified with carved work, while the ceilings of the aisles were firm but plain.

During the episcopate of Bishop Cleaver early in the last century, the roof of the nave was altered and the carved work destroyed; and some years afterwards still further destruction was carried out under the name of repairing; plain deal roofs were substituted for the well-wrought and carved beams, the nave was separated from the choir by a heavy screen carrying an organ, the stalls had been removed, and in their place was put what Sir Gilbert Scott called "the most execrable jimcrack that ever disgraced a church." Some allowance, however, ought to be made for the neglect of the building on account of the scanty funds which were available for repairs, and which amounted to no more than £60 a year.

In such a case it was by no means easy to see to what the restoration would lead. Sir Gilbert Scott in his first report offered two alternatives to the Dean and Chapter. The work to be undertaken might be limited to a thorough reparation of the fabric, with a worthy fitting up and seemly decoration of the interior; or there might be this, with, in addition, the restoration, or the partial reconstruction of the choir, transepts and Chapter-house in the style indicated by the few remaining fragments, and also a central tower. At the time these works were set on foot there was no evidence of the actual existence of the latter in the original building, although the piers and arches, from their great strength, were manifestly intended to carry a tower.

The Chapter and Restoration Committee decided to adopt the latter course, and the first contract entered into was for the restoration of the north and south transepts, and the construction of the central tower to the ridge of the roof. A thorough examination of the walls became, of course, necessary, as they were in a dangerous state; and it was then found that in them were parts of work which originally was in a different position, and fragments of windows which showed, to use Sir Gilbert's Scott's words, "that the rebuilders, with their customary disregard of the works of their predecessors, threw the details of the older architect into the walls as new material." Every piece of the early work found was, with patient skill, placed in the position which it may be supposed to have originally occupied.

"This exhuming and restoring to their places," writes Sir Gilbert Scott, during the progress of the work, "the fragments of the beautiful work of the thirteenth century—reduced to ruin by Owen Glendower, used as rough material by Henry VII., and rediscovered by us four and a half centuries after their reduction to ruin—is one of the most interesting facts I have met with in the course of my experience."

The cathedral, therefore, at present assimilates more towards Bishop Anian's work than before the restorations were commenced, when some of the buttresses of the south transept were "the solitary evidence remaining of the older church."

The ground plan, which embraces a western pinnacled tower, a clerestoried nave with aisles—all of late but good Perpendicular character—transepts, and aisleless choir, has in no way been affected by the restoration which was partially completed in August 1873. The new central tower, albeit rising hardly above the four roofs at present, gives a more minster-like aspect to the pile; while internally the four noble piers and pointed arches sustaining this lantern are surprisingly grand.

The nave, until the restorations, was divided at its fourth bay by a heavy organ-loft; but this has been removed, and the six bays of octagonal columns and broad, low arches of this portion of the church now rise uninterruptedly from the spacious chair-seated area.

The eastern arm of the cathedral, containing the chorus and presbytery, terminates square, and, although portions of the earlier work were found in the walls, yet it was thought most fitting to restore this part where it stood, leaving the main features of Bishop Deane's work unaltered, as by this course the choir now presents "the evidences of the threefold history of the church—its reconstruction after Norman devastation early in the twelfth century, its enlargement in the thirteenth century, and its restoration in the time of Henry VII."

Nothing less interesting can well be imagined than the appearance of Bangor Cathedral before 1866, when Sir Gilbert Scott made his first report upon it, although Storer, in his book on the English and Welsh cathedrals, published between 1814 and 1819, was of opinion that it "assimilated with the ancient unostentatious manners of the inhabitants; firm though unassuming; respectable but unadorned." How far the Bangorians may have changed their "ancient unostentatious manners" it is impossible to tell. Their cathedral is still unostentatious; but it is now a church instead of a "dismal hole," totally unfitted for a "House of the Lord." The type, indeed, is that of a dignified parish church rather than of a cathedral, in spite of its central (but, as yet, incomplete) and western pinnacled towers. But the interior, albeit desiderating that cathedral feature, the screen, is stately; indeed, the four arches supporting the lantern at the crossing are most majestic—and its tall Perpendicular east window, filled with the excellent products of Messrs Clayton and Bell's skill of thirty-five years ago, forms a worthy termination to the long vista. Excellent, too, is the short

array of canopied stalls marking off the eastern limb into *chorus cantorum* and presbytery.

On the outside Scott discovered, and has reproduced where necessary, some very beautiful early thirteenth century work — buttresses belonging to portions of the church destroyed by Owen Glendower.

Altogether it is difficult to convey any idea of the work which has been accomplished at Bangor to those who have never seen the cathedral in its former woebegone state. Few churches in the country have more completely changed their condition, and nowhere has "restoration" been more legitimately applied than here.

ST ASAPH

THE cathedral of St Asaph has no pretensions to that architectural magnificence which is displayed in most structures of a similar description in England, and which shine forth with an innoxious pride of rivalry in Llandaff and St David's; in fact, many an English parish church surpasses it in size and interest.

While reverence was accumulating the gorgeous embellishments of art in other fabrics, this lonely, remote church was subject to the horrors of unremitting warfare; often destitute of a protecting diocesan, and, when destroyed, dependent on casual bounty for restoration. Still, St Asaph's, renovated by the scrupulous care and decent piety of recent years, is handsome, substantial, and, although plain, and of limited dimensions, not without a certain dignity conferred upon it by its sturdy battlemented tower rising at the crux of the compact plan.

Seated on the highest point of the pleasant eminence on which it is built, and partially screened at many points of view by fine masses of wood, the impression conveyed by its exterior is august, if not grand. It has the distinction, therefore, of being the

only one of the Welsh cathedrals built on an elevated site.

The smallest cathedral in Great Britain—it is only 182 feet in length to the end of the presbytery, and 68 feet in breadth, including the aisles—St Asaph's is said to have been founded towards the end of the sixth, or at the beginning of the seventh century, by St Kentigern or Cyndeyrn, who, when he returned himself to Glasgow in Strathclyde, left in his place his disciple, St Asaph, from whom, as in the case of St David's, the place derived its appellation. The See was the poorest in Wales, and was described in 1188 by Giraldus Cambrensis in his itinerary as "paupercula sedis Lanelvensis ecclesia." The existing church is of three periods: the whole of the western portion, including the tower and transepts, being Decorated; the choir Early English, and Decorated with a modern restoration. It is built almost entirely of red sandstone. The great west window, a remarkably beautiful composition, is of six lights, the primary pattern describing a triplet, each of whose members is filled with a two-light divergent design. The west windows of the aisles are of two lights, with a large quatrefoiled space in the head. The west doorway has the mouldings of its arch rising continuously from the jambs, as have those of the arcades separating the nave from its aisles. The windows and portals of the aisles, imitations of Early Decorated work which were put in during the 'forties of the last century, in no way represent the original windows, which resemble those at the west end of the aisles. The clerestory lights, long concealed from the interior by a debased roof, are square, and above them is a corbel table, which Professor Freeman used to consider a slight sign of military character. The tower, which rises 93 feet, was probably the last part of the cathedral which was finished. It may date from the end of the fourteenth century, but the battlement was rebuilt in 1714, and

from a change in the character of the masonry, the upper portion may have been rebuilt at the same time, unusual care being taken in replacing the parts of the windows.

A Chapter-house stood on the north side of the choir, and a door which, perhaps, led to it was discovered during the restoration. Chiefly in the time of Bishop Shipley, who was "very civil" to Dr Johnson when he visited St Asaph's, the long aisleless Early English choir was nearly rebuilt in the Gothic style, as it was then understood; a new throne and pulpit were set up, and stained glass, by Eginton, inserted in the east window, which was said to have been copied from one in Tintern Abbey.

Not the smallest trace of the old design of the choir had been left, when Sir Gilbert Scott was called upon to bring back some of its original beauty to this badly-used church. Fortunately, prints were extant of the choir, showing what it was like, before the renewal of its exterior in costly stone, under Bishop Shipley; and from these Sir Gilbert made a design for its restoration, accompanied, however, by earnest advice to the Chapter that they should not act upon it until the whole work had been stripped of its modern concealment, and evidences of its original design searched after. This advice was ignored, the authorities saying that they could not have their cathedral disturbed earlier than was necessary, and the architect, in a moment of weakness, gave way.

Two couplets of lancet windows were introduced on either side of the rather deep aisleless eastern limb, designed as closely as the architect could from the prints; when lo, and behold! as the work approached the central tower, the old details made their appearance!

Sir Gilbert was naturally much disconcerted at this. He could not very well apply for funds to re-do all he had done, and yet he could not repeat it in the face of such facts as these. He therefore

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restored the remaining windows on either side correctly, and left the others to take their chance. "Monuments of weak compliance," says Sir Gilbert, "and beacons to warn others against such foolish conduct. There ought to be a brass plate set up recording our shame and our repentance."

When the restorations commenced about 1867, the old stalls had been arranged in the eastern limb, and pseudo-Gothic copies of them placed beneath the central tower. The latter were happily banished, and the mediæval stalls with their graceful canopies put in their places; but, unfortunately, the eastern limb was seated, much against Sir Gilbert Scott's wishes, with benches. It would have been better to have kept the old stalls where they were found, and to have treated the crossing as part of the nave, as at Bangor. Both cathedrals originally had their stalls under the tower; but at Bangor they were removed (or placed) eastward when the eastern limb was rebuilt in the reign of Henry VII. As at Bangor, the high open choir-screen is lacking. May it ere long be supplied! Prior to the appearance of Scott on the scene, the nave of St Asaph's Cathedral had a modern roof with plaster ceiling of waggon form, hiding the clerestory of curious square windows.[1] This roof was, however, substantial, and as it gave itself well to a form which would emancipate the windows (*i.e.*, one founded on that of the transepts of York), that treatment was adopted, and, it must be admitted, with success.

Of ancient stained glass there is not a fragment, while that which is modern is very average work of Messrs Ward and Hughes. The eastern window forms a memorial to Felicia Hemans, and those who

[1] In Storer's "Cathedrals of Great Britain," published between 1814 and 1819, the nave of St Asaph's is shown with an open gabled roof of timber exposing the clerestory. The heavy waggon-shaped ceiling must have been substituted during the 'forties when the nave was "improved," and poor aisle windows inserted.

have read Bishop Cleveland Coxe's "Impressions of England" will remember his delightful description in chapter xxiv. of a Sunday spent at St Asaph's, and of his totally unexpected introduction after Morning Service at the cathedral, to the sister of the gifted poetess, a twin genius, whose music half a century ago was as widely known as some of the most popular of Mrs Hemans' delightful lyrics.

Throughout, the distinguishing characteristic of St Asaph's Cathedral is excessive neatness. Small and inconsiderable as the cathedral and its establishment at St Asaph may be, it is far otherwise with the bishops who have presided over the diocese.

The See can boast of some of the most eminent prelates that the English Church has produced.

One of these is Isaac Barrow, who, having suffered much in the Great Rebellion, was in 1660 nominated Bishop of Sodor and Man, where the good he did is felt to this day. He was translated to St Asaph in 1669, where he devoted all his substance to works of charity till his death on the Feast of the Decollation of St John Baptist, 29th August 1680. He was buried near the west door, and the inscription on his tomb is so interesting an example of a post-Reformation one containing a prayer for the departed that I transcribe it at length:

"Exuviæ Isaaci Asaphensi Episcopi
In manum Domini depositæ
In spem letæ resurrectionis
Per sola Christi merita.
Obiit dictus Reverendus Pater, festo D.
Johannis Baptistæ, Ao. Dom. 1680.
Ætatis, 67 et translationis suæ undecimo.
O vos transeuntes in Domum Domini
In Domum Orationis,
Orate pro conservo vestro
Ut inveniat misericordiam in die Domini."

William Beveridge, a very earnest and learned divine and a man of exemplary charity, held the See

from 1704-08. When he lay a-dying one of his own order said of him: "There goes one of the greatest and one of the best men that England ever bred."

Beveridge was a prelate of Bishop Cosin's school, and, like him, was ever solicitous for the dignity and beauty of the most sacred part of the church —the chancel and sanctuary. It was while Rector of St Peter's, Cornhill, that Beveridge caused that graceful high screen to be erected which invests the church with an almost unique interest.[1]

Dr Tanner, author of the "Notitia Monastica," a work replete with valuable information, now very scarce, and Samuel Horsley, an original thinker, strong-minded, warm and uncompromising, are among the eighteenth-century bishops of St Asaph most worthy of mention.

Coming down to more recent times we find Dr Thomas Vowler Short, who occupied the See from 1846 to 1870. He was greatly esteemed, and every day for a quarter of a century the Bishop scattered flowers on his wife's grave in going to prayers at the cathedral, a touching ceremony recorded by the poet-priest of Londesborough—Rev. Richard Wilton —in lines which may fitly conclude this chapter:

"As through St Asaph's quiet streets I went,
I saw a sculptured fountain softly flowing,
A cherished name inscribed above it, showing
What tearful memories with those streams were blent.
To the Cathedral next my steps I bent,
Where in rich glass the same deep grief was glowing;
While, strewn upon a grave, flowers freshly blowing,
Showed sorrow's early tenderness unspent.
Thus by three touching symbols was recorded
A Husband's life-love to his sainted Wife—
Through lonely years like precious treasure hoarded;
A love as ceaseless as that fountain streaming,
Like flowers fresh-gathered, still with fragrance rife,
And to old age with chastened radiance gleaming."

[1] Another example of a screen of this kind set up in a London city church after the Restoration, is that now in St Margaret's, Lothbury, formerly in All Hallows', The Great and Less Thames Street, demolished some years ago.

CHAPTER VII

ST DAVID'S

THE cathedral of St David's demands a separate chapter, not only on account of its architectural superiority to the three other Welsh diocesan churches, but as the mother church of the See, which was originally the primatial one of the Principality.

Not only is the city of St David's quite removed from the beaten track of ordinary tourists and travellers, but, until little more than half a century ago, it presented such positive difficulties of access as appear to have checked even the zeal of the antiquary. Most people knew that there was a See of St David's, but the generality connected the name far more with its distinguished occupant[1] than with either his diocese or his cathedral. But of late years, chiefly through the indefatigable labours of the late Professor Freeman and Dr Basil Jones (Bishop of St David's from 1874-97), this truly noble church has been familiarised to seekers after antiquarian lore; while from its proximity to the coast, the city has risen into favour with many persons of quiet artistic disposition as a seaside resort, and, in truth,

[1] Connop Thirlwall, whose calm and scholarly "History of Greece" is a classic upon our shelves. He occupied the See from 1840 till his retirement in 1874.

a more charming one could hardly be selected. It is, however, to be hoped that the hotel accommodation has been ameliorated.

When Mr Freeman was pursuing his delightful labours, and gathering up materials for his "History and Antiquities of St David's,"[1] the only public conveyance which ever ventured into the sacred precincts of Davisland was a slow omnibus which plied thrice a week between the city and Haverfordwest, the nearest point on the railway, a distance of sixteen miles, in the course of which seventeen hills have to be traversed. Nowadays, facilities for locomotion are more general, but even now, to most people, St David's is a *terra incognita* to which no railway has ever been, nor is likely to be, contemplated. This, however, is no subject for regret, the seclusion of the place constituting one of its greatest charms.

The situation of St David's is in every way peculiar. A magnificent relic of the past with which the living present seems strangely at variance, the cathedral lies in a deep moorland glen within the recesses of a rocky peninsula jutting into the Atlantic, and in close contiguity to nothing better than a rude village, grouped around a stone cross on steps, and straggling away to the north and south-east of the cathedral and its adjacent ruins of College and Bishop's Palace. Westward is the Atlantic, beating for ever the awful and precipitous cliffs from which a fine sunset is a sight once seen never to be forgotten. Around it lies a mountainous stretch of country, treeless and bare, broken only here and there by thinly scattered habitations.

It was night when I arrived on my first visit to

[1] The first *fasciculus* of this exhaustive and invaluable work, written in conjunction with the late Bishop, Dr Basil Jones, appeared in 1852. Four years later it was published in its complete form, beautifully illustrated with drawings by Jewett, engraved by the masterly hand of Le Keux.

St David's, and the impression produced when, early the next morning, I came in sight of the great cruciform cathedral lying couched in its romantic dell at my feet, and surrounded by ruins of equal and equally unique interest, will never be effaced from the tablets of memory.

Under no conceivable contingency could old Menevia have been chosen at any period within the last eight hundred years as the See of a British bishop, and it is well to add that its peculiarity of position at one time afforded a plausible handle to the utilitarian objection of those who pooh-pooh the expense of maintaining that which they decry as a useless toy. To be sure, St David's Cathedral remained for a couple of centuries in a parlous condition, both morally and artistically, touched but little, if at all, by the great Church movement. Suddenly she seemed to shake off her slumbers, and, to their honour, the counties of South Wales have joined in rescuing this noble historical monument from that downfall and decay to which, at one period, it appeared likely to fall a victim, thanks to its venerable history and to its own intrinsic excellence.

The impression of St David's Cathedral is by no means diminished upon a nearer survey.

One marvels to see a building presenting so many features of the highest and best architectural character in such a spot. Closely adjoining are the ruins of a college, black, at the time of my visit, with jackdaws and rooks; and at a little further distance are the remains of a bishop's palace, which must once have been one of the most imposing prelatical residences in the land.

How came the cathedral, with its splendid appurtenances, to be lodged here, at the extreme verge of the world? The city now is little more than a Welsh village. What was it in the days of Bishop Gower, who built that princely residence, and enriched the cathedral with that marvellous

screen, which, did the place contain nothing else, would be worth a journey to see alone.

The geographical position of St David's is itself a parable: placed as nigh as possible to the setting sun, it would appear to symbolise the triumph of His kingdom whose "dominion shall be from one sea to the other, and from the flood unto the world's end."

The *raison d'être* of so magnificent an assemblage of buildings in this remote spot is not hard to account for.

All this country of Dewisland was consecrated, in the imagination and religion of its ancient inhabitants, as the scene of the birth and life of St David. His shrine was the Walsingham or Canterbury of the Cymry. It has received more than one visit from royalty. King Edward I. and his Queen Eleanor made a pilgrimage there in 1284, arriving, as the chronicles inform us, on the morrow of St Katherine's Day, 26th November.[1] The old road which led to the cathedral was called the "Meidr Saint" or "Sacred Way"; and the barren coast is still studded with the remains of chapels or hermitages which once served to remind the sailor or the fisherman of the sacredness of the soil he was passing.[2]

To all true Welshmen St David's was the most sacred spot in Britain, and two pilgrimages to the Pembrokeshire coast was considered equivalent to one to Rome:

> "Meneviam pete bis, Romam adire si vis,
> Æqua merces tibi redditur hic et ibi.
> Roma semel quantum dat bis Menevia tantum."

[1] "Rex Edwardus venit causâ peregrinationis, apud S. David unâ cum dom. Reginâ Angliæ, nomine Eleanorâ, die Dominica, in crastino B. Katerinæ V."—"Anglia Sacra," ii. 651.

[2] At Broadstairs, on the Kentish coast, there was a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of so great reputation that ships lowered their topsails in passing it.

Even in these days of locomotion, a journey from London to St David's takes fully twelve hours. The shrine of St Edmund at Pontigny can be reached in little more.

The history of the several predecessors of the present church is somewhat vague and shadowy, but from the ancient chronicles we are able to pick up such stray notes as these. A.D. 812, *Combustio Meneviæ* (The church burnt). 1078, *Menevia à Gentilibus Vastata* (It is plundered by the Pagans). 1086, *Scrinium S. David de Ecclesia sua furatur et juxta Civitatem ex toto spoliatur* (The Shrine of St David rifled). 1088, *Menevia frangitur et destruitur à Gentilibus.* And 1131, *Dedicatio Menevensis Ecclesia.* Then in 1180 we read that a new church was begun, "*Ecclesia Menevensis diruitur et novum opus inchoatur ab Episcopo Petro.*" The "Episcopo Petro" here alluded to was Peter de Leia, the third of the Norman prelates, and to him we must attribute the earliest portion of the existing buildings — the nave, and the western arch of the imposing, if not graceful, central tower. The two former, as specimens of the period of transition from the Round Arched to the Pointed style, are as beautiful as they are unique.

Subsequently, as circumstances required or devotion prompted, the cathedral underwent various repairs, alterations, and additions, down to the time of Bishop Gower, 1328-47, whose works, in perfected Gothic, extend nearly throughout the whole building. In fact, he appears to have recast all the exterior of the cathedral in the Middle Pointed style, so much so as to almost deserve the name of "the Menevian Wykeham." After him, a few alterations in Early and Late Perpendicular bring us down to the time of Bishop Vaughan, 1509-22, who, more than any other prelate, may be said to have *completed* the present structure, all subsequent efforts having been limited to simple preservation or restoration. In 1620 Bishop Field held a visitation, and by, and with

the consent of the Chapter, decreed that his cathedral should be whitewashed.[1] It is a question whether more harm occurred to the cathedral during the eventful period of the Civil War, or at the Reformation; probably the work of spoliation may be fairly divided between the two periods.

Then came the soporific era of the Georges, during which nothing was done until the episcopate of Bishop Horsley, the famous opponent of Dr Priestly, who ruled the See from 1788 until his translation to Rochester in 1793. To this prelate is due the credit of taking the lead in the work of reparation, as he set on foot a subscription for the purpose, and under his direction the sum of £2,015 was expended. The architect he called in was John Nash of All Souls, Langham Place, and S. Mary Haggerston[2] notoriety. The operations of this architect appear to have been confined chiefly to the west front, his work there including a hideous "Gothic" window, now happily removed, and some portentous flying buttresses, which, in all probability, prevented the church from coming down with a run, and were therefore to be condoned in spite of their ugliness. About the middle of the last century, Mr Butterfield effected some repairs in the north transept, inserted a new window there, on the model of one at Sleaford, and put to rights the unique

[1] For more than three centuries whitewash was the *beau idéal* of North European Protestantism, because it was the antipodes to the scarlet of the south. But the world has gone round, and carried ideas with it. Let the reader go to Brunswick, see the great Romanesque Dom of this most Protestant of North German cities, and judge for himself!

Vide illustration of the interior of this church in my "Cathedrals and Churches of the Rhine and North Germany."

[2] Two churches, each with a ridiculous steeple, built from the designs of this architect in London during the reign of George IV., when, a million pounds having been voted by Parliament for the purpose, a large number of churches were built on the outskirts of the metropolis and our provincial towns.

wooden screen that separates the choir from the presbytery. The nave walls and pillars were likewise cleansed of their whitewash, the pews removed, benches of oak substituted, and the magnificent screen of Bishop Gower restored at the cost of several members of the University of Oxford. With the exception of the works above enumerated, little or nothing seems to have been done for the good of the cathedral since the days of Bishops Barlow and Farrer, those notorious dilapidators, the former of whom, among other devices for portioning his five daughters, scrupled not to strip the lead from the roof of the stately palace hard by. An ecclesiologist who visited St David's in 1858, draws a very sorry picture of the state of things there even then. The churchyard was in a shocking state of slovenliness, the graves almost concealed by rank and uncut grass, which, intermingled with all manner of wild shrubs and bushes, appeared to flourish in unchecked luxuriance.

The bells were disused except one, because cracked, or because the worn-out ropes had become too short to pull them; the service, announced by the ringing of a solitary cracked bell, was most slovenly performed by two vicars choral and eight choristers in surplices, which, to use the mildest expression, were most filthy. The altar books were found to be bespattered with the dung of birds, and the Holy Table itself had a faded cotton velvet cover, once purple, then modestly hesitating between black and brown, while, although the font was in existence, baptism was administered from a leaden barber's basin placed in the bowl.

In 1862, when Sir Gilbert Scott, having become professionally acquainted with St David's Cathedral, issued his first report upon it, the condition of the structure was truly lamentable, not to mention the eastern chapels, which were in ruins. The choir aisles were walled off and unoccupied; the roofs

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throughout were dripping with water into the church; the walls, pillars, arches, etc., running down with wet, and everything evincing the most abject and contemptuous neglect. Fortunately, a liberal ecclesiastical spirit was abroad; individual munificence was forthcoming; and the work of restoration began in 1864 with the central tower. This was the immediate source of danger, the only security it had from total collapse being the buttressing it sustained from the walls of the four arms. The cause was the old story which proved so destructive at Chichester, and created such alarm at Salisbury, Hereford, and Peterborough—the reckless manner in which architects of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries piled masonry upon Norman or Early English piers not destined to support it. At St David's the piers were Norman and the tower of Early English and subsequent epochs. Sir Gilbert showed equal skill and boldness by the manner in which he grappled with his foe. Two of the piers were bodily taken out and rebuilt under the superincumbent mass, the alarming cracks in the tower brought together, and the whole firmly riveted by iron ties and bolts.

Scott always used to say that during the work at St David's he never went to bed without expecting to be roused with the news that the tower had fallen. The process was watched by Mr Clear, one of the ablest of the many able clerks of the works which Sir Gilbert had gathered round him.

We are in the habit of saying, "Those old clergy knew how to build. Look at their work—see how it stands!" But we are very much mistaken if we suppose that in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries there was no bad building. On the contrary, nothing is more common in the old annals than the notices of how this or that tower fell down, and how this or that choir was falling into ruin, and how this or that bishop or abbot got into

debt by his mania for building. There was an everlasting tinkering going on at the cathedrals and conventual churches, and the surest token that a chapter was in a bad way was if its church was in a shaky condition.

When the tower at St David's was rehabilitated, the church was put into substantial repair throughout, and the aisles of the eastern arm, once in ruins, roofed, repaired, and reunited with the church. Several interpolations of late periods were removed; original features were discovered and reinstated, the work being characterised by that laborious and tender spirit of archæological conservatism which characterised Sir Gilbert Scott's handling of ancient buildings. Nash's worthless west front, with its pseudo-Gothic window and tentacle-like buttresses, was removed, and an entirely new one in Romanesque substituted, its only defect being its monotony — the purple local stone being used throughout, without the relief afforded by any other coloured material.

The seated figure of Bishop Thirlwall (d. 1874), under whom these great works at St David's were inaugurated, is as calm and dignified as his own "History of Greece."

Viewed as a work of art, St David's Cathedral presents externally no display of architectural magnificence; yet by its intermixture of ruined with perfect buildings, combined with the bold and striking character of its outline, drawn out by that system of square-ended eastern chapels so beloved by the English architects, the effect produced exceeds that of many other edifices of far greater pretensions. But the absence of external ornament, which is only the result of its exposed situation, is more than compensated for by the richness of decoration which has been lavished upon its interior.

The nave, a most valuable specimen of Transitional architecture, and generally assigned throughout to

Bishop Peter de Leia, was commenced in 1182, just after William of Sens had relinquished his work in the choir of Canterbury, and preserves more of its Romanesque character than its contemporary at Glastonbury. It is composed of two equally unexceptionable and equally beautiful examples of distinct architectural periods. The arcade and the curious combination of triforium and clerestory which, recalling St Germain des Pres at Paris, composes the upper storey, are Romanesque, with indications of Pointed in the upper portion.

The arcade is singularly rich and graceful, the circular arches resting on isolated columns alternately round and octagonal, and with slender shafts at their cardinal points. The detail is studied and refined, and the same class of capital found at Glastonbury is used, though some are of the Norman cushion type. But in the mouldings of the couplets that make up the just-Pointed lights of the triforium, and in the pateræ embossed in the immediate spandrels, may be traced a school of Romanesque art of which (except in some details at Llandaff) I am ignorant elsewhere. It can but be described as the translation into Norman of Greek art, for the Greek fret in one part is absolutely used. I have observed similar phenomena in German minsters—Worms *inter alia*—and it may not be unreasonable to assume that the Welsh ecclesiastics (for it must be remembered that Wales was still independent when this nave at St David's was reared) may have preferred to import its artist over the North Sea to employing that more unpopular foreigner, the Norman or the Englishman.

The second peculiarity of this magnificent nave is the roof which spans its very wide area. Here the English influence reigning in Wales comes into prominence. The roof, which replaces one in all probability of the flat Norman type seen at Peterborough and St Alban's, is of the latter half

of the fifteenth century, having been erected, it is believed, between 1472 and 1509 during the treasurership of Owen Pole.[1] In its detail this roof is about the richest specimen of Perpendicular woodwork within my recollection, its speciality residing not only in the detail in which there is just a soupçon of the Renaissance, but in the design. The reader need scarcely be reminded that Romanesque wooden roofs, even where they spanned broad areas, were as a rule flat. The Pointed style gave prominence to the idea of the ridge, and the Perpendicular phase of it, while frequently reducing the pitch to a minimum, generally retained it in halls and in the naves and chancels of churches. The designer of this roof at St David's has, however, boldly adopted the flat line, and in doing so has forestalled (in the boldest and most effective manner) a feature which is generally taken as typical of the flat Jacobean ceilings, whether in wood or plaister. The crossings of the beams joining the panels are marked by large pendants most delicately carved. Of course it is easy to say this is a hall, and not a cathedral roof, and one would hardly advocate its reproduction for ecclesiastical purposes. But where it is, it is worthy of all care and admiration, and it is pleasing to add that it has been most conservatively restored.

The third remarkable feature in the nave of St David's Cathedral is the rise in the floor from west to east at an angle so considerable, that the incline is quite perceptible.[2] This is owing, no doubt, to the builders having followed the slope of the ground, the result of which is to give the

[1] A drawing of the nave of St David's Cathedral with the stone vaulted roof added in imagination is given in the first volume of Sir Gilbert Scott's "Lectures on Mediæval Architecture."

[2] There is a similar incline in the floor of the little church of St Pierre aux Corps at Bourges.

building an effect of greater length, according to a well-known law of perspective.

A fourth peculiarity is the manner in which the aisles are cut off from the transepts by solid walls eccentrically pierced by doorways of extreme beauty.

The rood-loft projects from beneath the western arch of the tower to the depth of half the eastern-most bay of the nave on either side. It is of Late Decorated character, and undoubtedly gains in dignity of effect from its situation at the summit of a succession of steps. It is also extremely curious from its being so designed as to include the canopied tombs of bishops, and being accordingly of a different design on either side of the choir door, whose gateway is an admirable specimen of revived Gothic metal-work for the period of its execution, 1847. This screen was the work of Bishop Gower, and designed as it was between 1330 and 1350, when our architecture had attained its highest excellence, is perhaps one of the most sumptuous works of its kind in the country. Reference to the illustration will afford some idea of its beauty, but it should be mentioned that on the right-hand side of the choir door, and at the south end, is a most graceful arch of five cuspings, each cusp being also foliated and fitted with grilles, through which one looks upon the monument of Bishop Gower, who, as I have already mentioned, made considerable alterations in the cathedral, raising the aisles of the nave and presbytery to their present height, making preparations for that vaulting for which they are even now waiting, and giving the central tower its second storey. The whole of the church had been prepared for a stone groining, but excepting in the eastern chapels none of it had ever become an accomplished fact.

The organ by Willis, in a poor case, stands upon the screen, facing east and west, but until the

late restorations it was placed, as at Winchester, under the northern arch of the tower.[1]

The old organ of which accounts have been preserved went the way of the generality of such instruments during the Civil War, and does not appear to have been replaced until early in the eighteenth century, when a new organ by Father Smith was built, but a short time after its erection a severe storm did such damage to the roof under which it stood that it remained for a long time exposed to the rain and open sky. But Browne Willis, writing in 1729, tells us that it was in good working order then. In 1843 a new organ, consisting of a choir and swell, was built by Lincoln, the old case of Norway oak being used again.

On the introduction of the present instrument the old organ was sent to Haverfordwest, but the eighteenth-century case is lying by in the cathedral still. It is a pity it could not have been utilised for the present organ, as woodwork of that date is not to be despised.

There is documentary evidence of the fall of the great tower in 1220,[2] by which the transepts and eastern limb appear to have been crushed. The cause was the failure of the two eastern piers. In rebuilding the tower, the two western piers were left standing, so that it was supported on columns of unequal strength. During the six centuries which followed the rebuilding, the height of the tower was vastly increased, first in the fourteenth century, under Bishop Gower, and again in the sixteenth, under Vaughan. The two eastern piers bore the superincumbent mass well, but the original western ones had, as Sir Gilbert Scott said in his report of 1862,

[1] Until the Great Rebellion it is said to have stood where the present one does.

[2] Nova turris Meneviæ Ecclesiæ die Lunæ ante festum. S. Martini statim post vesperas in ruinam improvisam versa est.—"Annales Cambriæ," p. 75.

THE NAVE LOOKING EAST

ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL

"become crushed literally to fragments." At one time a vast wall had been erected between the piers, displacing half the width of the choir screen, but this abutment was insufficient. One transept arch had also been walled up, as had also that opening to the nave, though this latter had been reopened before Sir Gilbert was called in. Not only were the two older piers thus shattered, but very much of the superstructure also, while the later storeys above were split from top to bottom by gaping cracks of vast width. Thanks to the united skill of the architect and his excellent clerk of the works, Mr Clear, the tower of St David's is now perfectly sound, and its effect internally, with its four arches —those to north, south, and east, pointed, and that to west, round—rising from graceful clusters of shafts, is extremely grand. Charming, too, are the arcades surmounting the three former arches, with their pillarets composed of white and purple stone in alternate layers, and the timber-groined roof over all, richly coloured with various heraldic devices.

This groining, which dates from the sixteenth century, cut across the windows of Bishop Gower's portion of the tower until 1862, when Scott did away with the dissight, by lifting the groining to the top of the lantern. By this means not only were Gower's windows exposed in their integrity, but the whole was converted into one of the finest features of its kind in the range of English architecture. The stalls, with their returns, occupy the space beneath the lantern, and, together with the Bishop's throne and the unique wooden screen which separates the "chorus" from the presbytery, compose a most charming little choir.

In the transepts, both of which have been groined in wood, the most beautiful features are the three arches in their eastern sides. One of these arches admits to the choir aisle; the other two are imbedded in the wall. Their style is Early English of that

graceful school which, as it had its origin at Glastonbury, may be termed that of Somersetshire. It is also met with on the other side of the Bristol Channel in the churches of Slymbridge and Berkeley, whence it would appear to have been imported through Llandaff and the Gower district of South Wales to St David's.

The three-storeyed building, which forms so conspicuous a feature in the view of the cathedral from the north-east, and which adjoins the eastern side of the transept, had a three-fold use before the Reformation.

The lowest stage, now the Chapter-house and vestries, was the Chapel of St Thomas the Martyr; the second formed the original Chapter-house, and is approached by a staircase, communicating with a low wooden gallery in the north aisle of the presbytery; the uppermost storey was the treasury. All the windows had been deprived of their tracery during the debased eras, but it has now been restored to them in that style which so charmingly titubates between the geometrical and curvilinear phases of Middle Pointed.

This building is slightly disorientated, so as to leave just a narrow slype or passage between it and the north aisle of the four-bayed presbytery, which, having been crushed by the fall of the tower in 1200, was rebuilt between that year and 1248 in a style so nearly Romanesque in some features as to be hardly distinguishable from the Transitional work of De Leia in the nave. Here the columns, which are alternately cylindrical and octangular, support pointed arches, and a clerestory of large single lancets. The square east end, also built on the lines of the old one, which must have been one of the earliest deviations from the Norman apsidal form, had originally three tall lancets, surmounted by four small ones, all of equal height. But when the side walls were raised, and the present low-pitched roof substituted for the loftier thirteenth-century one, the four lancets in the upper

storey of the east end were removed, and a low, Perpendicular window of seven lights introduced in lieu of them. Later on the glass was removed from the three great lancets below, and the openings filled in with stone. When Sir Gilbert Scott came to restore the presbytery, he found, in addition to the principals supporting the almost flat and panelled Perpendicular roof, the rafters of the earlier one.[1] They were, however, only reintroduced at the end of the seventeenth century, when the cathedral was put in order after the Civil War, and for purposes of stability; but as their effect was by no means gainly, they were removed during the restorations carried out in this part of the church between 1869 and 1871.

Mr Freeman, in criticising Scott's restoration of the presbytery, said that he would either have retained the Perpendicular east window, or else have restored the whole thing in Early English, roof and all. To this Sir Gilbert replied that the Perpendicular window was decayed, and he had found the remains of the original Early English lancets imbedded in the wall; that the Perpendicular roof was handsome and susceptible of reparation, while the old one was of plain square timbers; finally, that he knew what the east end had been up to the foot of the gable, and thus far was able to restore it with absolute certainty, while of the design of the Early English gable he knew nothing definitely. He, therefore, took the intermediate course, preserving and replacing all he could find of the earlier work, and beyond this, preserving the later.

The four upper lancets sparkle with excellent stained glass by Hardman, which, together with the mosaics filling the closed triplet below, were gifts to the cathedral from Rev. John Lucy, Rector of Hampton Lucy in Warwickshire, and are partly

[1] They are shown in the engraving of the presbytery, given in Jones and Freeman's monograph.

memorials of his ancestor William Lucy, Bishop of St David's from 1660 to 1677. The mosaics, with the shimmer of their gold and their pale solemn figures lighting up the dark wall, harmonise perhaps more perfectly than stained glass with the deep colouring of the stone-work. They were worked by Salviati from cartoons by Mr Powell of Messrs Hardman's *ateliers* at Birmingham. The coloured cartoons were the full size of each space; and each block of mosaic was clearly marked out. They were sent to Venice; and the work, when completed, arrived in England ready for fixing in the window spaces. This is done with a special cement, said to be identical with that used by ancient mosaicists for the same purpose.

Beneath these windows, but on the eastern side is a remarkable recess, which, on being opened, was found to contain a quantity of human bones, on which mortar in a liquid state had been poured. These bones must have been placed in the recess after the destruction of the shrines of St David and St Caradoc, and there is great reason for believing that they were the actual relics of the two saints thus walled up to prevent their desecration.

The stone *feretrum* of St David's shrine stands within the second bay of the presbytery on the north side. Dating in all probability from the second half of the thirteenth century, it is an oblong 5 feet high, 3 feet 6 inches deep, and with a frontage of nearly 12 feet towards the presbytery and aisle. The upper part facing the former has three pointed arcades on slender semi-detached shafts, and below these are three pointed arches resting on the plinth and recessed to a depth of 1 foot 3 inches, with between each a deep quatrefoil. The side of the *feretrum* facing the aisle is of much simpler character, the wall being merely pierced by apertures of various forms. On the top of this stood the shrine or reliquary itself, which of course went the

way of such things at an early stage of the Reformation.

In the presbytery, the level of the capitals of the main arcade and that of the aisle vaulting shafts differ considerably, the former rising above the latter. A semi-circular arch in the east wall of either aisle shows what was in all probability the level of the vaulting of De Leia's choir-aisles, agreeing, as it does, in height with their vaulting shafts. Again, the vaulting shafts of the aisles against the outer walls are higher than those of the main arcade, thus affording proof of the fact that the vaulting of the aisle, as rebuilt in the thirteenth century, was intended to spring from corbels at the junction of the label of the arcade, disregarding entirely the existence of the earlier shafts against the isolated columns of the main arcade. How far this project of vaulting the aisles was carried out is a matter of conjecture.

At present they have wooden roofs of the ordinary lean-to type, though it is to be hoped that they may be eventually groined, if only in wood. The view across the choir, from the graceful pointed transition arch connecting the south aisle with the transept, is singularly impressive, and the effect would be materially enhanced were this much-to-be-desired addition given to the aisles.

De Leia's, and also the Early English choir, terminated as now without any buildings beyond. It was not until the time of Bishop Martyn (1290-1328) that a Lady Chapel or any other extension of the existing church was begun. At St David's, instead of being returned round the east end as at Chichester, Salisbury, Exeter, and other cathedrals in which the low chapel system was carried out, the aisles of the presbytery were prolonged to a distance sufficient to allow a space of 15 feet from east to west of the presbytery wall. Beyond this a connecting aisle was built forming a passage to

the Lady Chapel, and opening into the aisle at its north and south ends by two very beautiful pointed arches. The space between the east wall of the presbytery and the passage to the Lady Chapel appears to have remained open until the time of Bishop Vaughan, for it is described then as "vilissimus sive sordissimus locus in totâ ecclesiâ." One can only account for this hiatus between the main building and the Lady Chapel by supposing that he who planned this eastern extension at St David's was an extraordinarily conservative person, with scruples about disturbing the square end of the presbytery by piercing it with a connecting arch or arches, as in the cathedrals above quoted.

However, Bishop Vaughan took the matter in hand, removed the glass from the three great lancets above the high altar, and added a clerestory and vault to the hitherto unoccupied space, which from this circumstance has always been known as Bishop Vaughan's Chapel. The Perpendicular work here is Late but extremely good; the fan vaulting is fine, the windows in the clerestory, with their triangular heads and lights of the same shape, are pleasing examples of the style, as are the light open screens, with their eccentrically placed doorways, which fence off the chapel from the aisle on either side of it.

At present this chapel and the oblong passage to the Lady Chapel next to it are the only parts east of the presbytery that have been roofed in. The aisles, which extend three bays beyond those of the presbytery, from which they are cut off by a wall, and the Lady Chapel projecting on beyond, still exclaim for their roofs, but tracery, some Decorated, other Perpendicular, according with the remains found, has been restored to all the windows. The complete restoration of all these portions is in contemplation, and it is to be hoped that ere long it will have become an accomplished fact. Meanwhile the heartiest congratulations must be offered

to all who have aided in the work of bringing this uniquely beautiful and deeply interesting cathedral to its present state of architectural completeness.

There are many details in St David's Cathedral which from the limits assigned to this volume, it is impossible to touch upon; nor is it possible to do justice to that series of monumental effigies in which the church is unusually rich. For all these I must refer the reader to the several monographs on the subject.

I am also constrained to omit much which I should have gladly recorded of the peculiarities of the surrounding buildings. But I cannot pass over that speciality of the Bishop's Palace, built by Gower in Middle Pointed days, the horizontal open arcaded parapet—found likewise in the same prelate's structures at Caerphilly and Lamphey. The whole spirit of the conception is so thoroughly Southern, though English in its details, that one feels persuaded that the architect must have studied in the cities of North Italy.

CHAPTER VIII

ST ALBAN'S—RIPON—MANCHESTER—TRURO

THE great church revival of the last century, combined with the enormous increase in the population, brought about, as a necessary sequel, the creation of various new dioceses.

For most of these, the past history of the Church had provided suitable cathedral churches in fabrics, originally designed for monastic, collegiate and parochial use as at Ripon, Manchester, St Alban's, Southwell, Newcastle, Wakefield and Southwark. In one instance, Truro, the south aisle of a not very first-rate Cornish Perpendicular church has been ingeniously worked into the choir of the lately completed Early English cathedral. At Liverpool, St Peter's Church, an average specimen of late seventeenth century architecture, serves as the cathedral, pending the creation of that remarkable structure on St James's Mount; while at Birmingham, where there is as yet no talk of building a new cathedral, the episcopal throne has been set up in the stately Early Hanoverian church of St Philip.

Although the See of St Alban's must yield in priority of creation to those of Ripon and Man-

chester,[1] its cathedral is entitled to precedence in this chapter, firstly, because it is one of the largest and most interesting buildings in the kingdom, and one which must be approached with feelings different from those with which we regard any other cathedral in the land. Secondly, because, in all probability, the church covers the scene of the first martyrdom, and that we need in these material days to cherish everything that can recall to our minds the duty of cheerfully suffering for the truth's sake.

Thirdly, because the present edifice, vast portions of which are constructed of Roman brick, has probably incorporated in it the materials of the original church, which was built ten years after St Alban's triumph; and that thus both the site and, in a manner, the building itself, has received the consecration of nearly sixteen centuries of continuous dedication to the worship of Almighty God.

Lastly, because, representing, as it does, every phase of English architecture, from Saxon to Perpendicular, it is still, in spite of the reckless "setting to rights" it has been subjected to within the last quarter of a century, a mine of inexhaustible wealth to the architectural student, for the examples illustrated, are, for the most part, the best of their respective periods. Externally, with its nave of 292 feet, the longest Gothic one in the world; its boldly projecting transepts; its tall and massive central tower; its lofty eastern limb and lower extension of aisles and Lady Chapel, St Alban's presents an *ensemble* of dignity and grandeur rather than of picturesqueness.[2] Interiorly, its most striking characteristic is want

[1] The See of Ripon was fully constituted in 1836; that of Manchester in 1848; and those of St Alban's and Truro in 1877.

[2] St Alban's Cathedral is the longest church in the world, except St Peter's at Rome. Its extreme length from east to west is 550 feet 1¼ inches, and its greatest breadth, *i.e.*, at the transepts, is 204 feet 10 inches. It covers ground to the extent of nearly 40,000 square feet.

of uniformity and regularity of design, owing to the numerous interpolations of successive eras. The general form is indeed that of a Norman church, but so disguised by repeated alterations and rebuildings as to be scarcely recognisable.

The ancient city of Verulam once stood just to the south-west of the present town, and it was within the city that St Alban — Britain's Proto-Martyr — was led forth to be beheaded, as Bede mentions, on "a little hill covered with wood," about A.D. 303.

The city of St Alban's now occupies this little hill, and the precise spot of the martyrdom is said to be in the north transept of the cathedral church. Dugdale informs us that the early Christians built a church upon the site of the martyrdom, but nothing of importance is recorded until Offa II., King of the Mercians, repenting of his many sins, and as an atonement for a murder, was moved by a Christian mind to found a religious house in honour of St Alban. The monastery was placed under Benedictine rule, and housed a hundred religious, who vowed to live exclusively for God, and also to give shelter to travellers and all who should seek relief. At the time of the Conquest this was the most important abbey in England, and even down to the time of its suppression in 1539 the abbots of St Alban's disputed the precedence with those of Westminster.

The year 791 was the date of the foundation of the monastery. It seems most probable that Offa really built his monastery close to the early church, for we find within a few years that Ealdred, the eighth abbot, began to collect materials for the reconstruction of the church. Offa's church stood, however, until nearly the end of the eleventh century, when its removal was commenced by Abbot Paul of Caen, a relative of Archbishop Lanfranc. Lanfranc was previously Abbot of St Stephen's at Caen, and rebuilt

Canterbury Cathedral almost upon the model of the church of that "Abbaye aux Hommes," but Paul, who was simply a monk of St Stephen's, was more ambitious, for he began St Alban's upon a scale of far greater grandeur than the new metropolitan cathedral. In general plan the Norman church of St Alban's resembled Canterbury, but exceeded it in size in every direction. In rebuilding his church Abbot Paul collected and used the old tiles from the ruined Verulam, so it is clear that the severe character of the church was influenced by its materials. As originally planned by Abbot Paul, St Alban's must, as regards its general grouping and proportions, have presented a perfect model of a typical Norman church. A rigid and almost gaunt simplicity pervaded its design, and although homely in material, and its simple workmanship, was of stupendous scale and massive construction. If we were to restore St Alban's in imagination as it stood at the time of its consecration in 1115, we should find that it consisted of a nave of thirteen bays, transepts, each with two apses of unequal projection on its eastern side, and a long choir[1] with aisles terminating square on the outside, but apsidal within, as at Romsey. The choir terminated in a grand semi-circular apse, beyond which we have no proof that other chapels existed. Towers surmounted by short square spires flanked the west end, but projected wholly beyond the walls of the aisles, while from the crossing rose that massive lantern, the same in all essentials that still dominates the eminence upon which the city stands. Except that of St Edmundsbury, St Alban's was the vastest church in England, covering an area of about 30,000 square feet, and for a hundred years it retained its original Norman plan undisturbed.

The whole of this enormous structure was built

[1] Strictly speaking, this was the presbytery, the choir being under the tower, and extending into three bays of the nave. I employ the term here in its architectural sense.

of tiles bedded in mortar, which, in those Norman portions yet remaining, *i.e.*, the central tower, the transepts, nine bays of the nave on the north and three on the south, has retained its marvellous hardness even after the lapse of eight hundred years, having the joints almost as thick as the tiles themselves. Whether we have in this church any remains of Offa's building it is difficult to say, but some baluster columns in the transepts which are clearly anterior to the Norman church may fairly be conjectured to have formed part of that king's building.

Between 1151 and 1166 Robert de Gorham, eighteenth abbot, repaired and beautified the earlier shrine of the tutelar saint, and also rebuilt the Chapter-house and part of the cloisters. Of the Chapter-house there are no traces above ground, but, fortunately, we have a portion of the cloister on the south side of the south transept, and it is just this small remnant[1] that bridges over the century lying between the dignified severity of Abbot Paul's work, and the first great alteration in Early English times, begun under Abbot John de Cella, and continued during the Decorated period under his successors, William de Trumpington, Roger de Norton, and John de Berkhamstead. The century which witnessed the successive changes wrought by these great and powerful Churchmen was one which two historians of such diverse views as Mr Frederic Harrison and the late Bishop Creighton unite in proclaiming the greatest the world has ever seen, when the Romanesque was giving way to the productions of the ever developing Pointed styles, and splendid Gothic buildings—"frozen dreams" of those who dreamt nobly, though with something of

[1] It consists of a richly moulded late Norman door and some interlacing arcade work, removed by Lord Grimthorpe from the slype or passage between the Chapter-house and the south transept, and now built into the wall on the southern face of the latter.

ST. . . .
ALBAN'S
CATHE-
DRAL

FROM THE NORTH WEST (*about* 1870)

the exuberance of fantasy of the dreams of childhood, were rising all over Northern Europe.

The first change in the stern old Norman Church of St Alban's began, as I have said, in 1195, under Abbot John de Cella, an ecclesiastic of more taste than worldly wisdom, who was fired with the ambitious idea of replacing Abbot Paul's west front with one such as the world had so far not seen.

It is not possible in this place to detail the misfortunes and disappointments of this over-sanguine abbot, so amusingly narrated by Matthew Paris, arising, as his historian tells us, "from his attending but little to that admonition of which mention is made in the Gospel—that is to say, 'he who is about to build should compute the cost,' lest all begin to jest at him, saying, 'this man began to build and was unable to finish it.'" Suffice it to say that after employing three architects for several years, and obtaining money in every way he could think of, he was obliged to limit himself to the erection of the three portals, and probably hardly finished them. It is doubtful whether, until their destruction by Lord Grimthorpe a few years ago, there existed in England a work so perfect in art as the half-ruined western portals of St Alban's. We venerate their designer, who, it is not unlikely, was De Cella's second architect, Gilbert de Eversholt. His work was contemporary with two others which are as fine as almost anything in existence — the western Galilee porch at Ely, and the choir of St Hugh at Lincoln. Each was the work of the earliest perfected Early English, after it had thrown off the square form of the Romanesque capital, and I think I am right in saying that it may also be contemporary with another of the finest Early English works—the sanctuary of the dependent monastery of Tynemouth, which, however, retains the square capital. At any rate, the remains of these portals of De Cella, were sufficient to show

us that his work would have been far grander and more beautiful than that of his successor William of Trumpington (1214-35), who cut down the soul-conceived, or, as he may have thought, extravagant work of De Cella. Even in Trumpington's work—and he made extensive alterations—we can follow much and see how that his ideas or first intentions were gradually abandoned and reduced in richness of execution. Commencing as he naturally would on the north side, even though he impoverished the work of De Cella, yet Trumpington intended to vault the nave. The marble groining shafts to the first four bays on the north side, counting from the west, are still to be seen, together with the beautifully carved capitals designed to carry three other shafts clustered round the moulded nosing of the alternate triforium piers; also the clustering itself shows evidence of this decision; but before the work had proceeded beyond a few bays he was obliged to reduce the number of shafts, and eventually abandoning the idea of vaulting the roof, was compelled to leave the flat Norman ceiling. Trumpington's work is thoroughly good, though appearing cheap in comparison with the remains of the unsuccessful effort before him.

Owing to accidents and alterations in later times, little of his west end was in existence, when it passed into the hands of the late Lord Grimthorpe, to whom we are indebted for the present dreary collection of inane commonplaces that now compose the west front. We must therefore judge the Early English work by what we see, viz., the first four bays on the north and the first five on the south. The two clerestory arches at the east end on the north side have the dog-tooth ornament. The mouldings to the two easternmost bays on the south differ from the rest, and it is not improbable that these two compartments were built some few years later than their opposite neighbours, and together with the

two next bays after the idea of groining had been abandoned. We cannot suppose that Trumpington rebuilt the eastern part of the church, for within a few years, during the rule of John de Hertford (1235-60), it was found necessary to remove the old Norman choir, owing to a gaping crack, but he made many alterations here, and in all probability panelled the Norman work with arches and intermediate arches. Of the progress of the work at this opposite end of the church we have but little record. It seems likely that the existing eastern limb was begun by John de Hertford, but it was more particularly the work of Roger de Norton (1260-90). It consists of five bays, the same number as the old Norman one, whose apse was removed, and a square end lighted by three windows above a triplet of pointed arches substituted.

Although only vaulted in wood,[1] this eastern limb at St Alban's is one of the most perfect pieces of complete Gothic in this country. Singularly, this portion of the cathedral is not open to the aisles, as is usually the case, but really panelled in arcading. In fact, it seems that in making these alterations, the architect did not remove the Norman wall for fear of disturbing the great tower, but, leaving the walls standing, he ingeniously enriched them with pointed arches on gracefully clustered shafts, to agree with the work of this date, so that the walls of this eastern limb form buttresses to the tower.

The two-bayed space beyond the east end, a system of extension that had ever been a favourite one in England since its *début* at Hereford at the end of the twelfth century, was commenced at the same time as the portion just described, and continued by John de Berkhamstead, who completed it as high as the springing of the groining, and the

[1] Had it been vaulted in stone, the painting which forms so delightful a feature in this roof would, in all probability, not now be in existence.

whole of the Lady Chapel to the level of the springs just under the window-sills. A change of plan affected the work in the two bays between the east end of the choir and the Lady Chapel, as it did almost every other during its progress. The original intention was that the central portion of this part of the church should be divided into three aisles by two rows of columns—octagonal ones most likely, similar to those separating it from the aisles —in order to correspond with the three arches below the great east windows of the eastern limb. But the architect who conceived the plan and had carried up the building to this point, suddenly relinquished his intention, and covered the broad space with a flat ceiling of oak in square panels enriched with mouldings, cusps, and carved bosses. For the purpose of adding to the view the extended range of architecture to the east, the three arches already alluded to at the extremity of the eastern limb were left open, but in 1553 they were walled up, when the Lady Chapel was cut off from the church and converted into a Grammar School.

It was while these works were in progress that, on 28th November 1290, Eleanor, the Queen of Edward I., died at Hardeby, in Nottinghamshire. The corpse was removed to Lincoln and embalmed, and the bowels were buried in that cathedral on 2nd December. Two days afterwards the king set out from Lincoln with the remains of his consort, and journeyed by slow stages to London. The route taken was not direct, but was chosen in order that the procession might pass through the most populous parts of the country, and include the great religious houses on the way, thus providing suitable resting-places at night. After halting at Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Woburn, and Dunstable, St Alban's[1] was

[1] At all these places, and at the three last ones, Waltham, Westcheap, and Charing, crosses were subsequently erected in

reached. Here, on the arrival of the *cortège*, the whole convent, *solemniter revestitus in cappis*, went out to meet it as far as St Michael's Church, at the entrance to the town, and the body was taken into the church and placed before the high altar, the convent being engaged all night long in divine offices and holy vigils.

For a few years the works at St Alban's remained at a standstill, but upon the accession of Hugh de Eversden (1308-26), the broken thread was taken up, and the eastern portions of the church, including the Lady Chapel, completed in that phase of Complete Gothic, which, combining the Geometrical and Curvilinear forms of tracery, was prevalent at this time.

A perfect gem of English Middle Pointed art is the Lady Chapel at St Alban's, and for a building of its size, the variety of window tracery it exhibits is marvellous. The beautiful east window of five compartments may in some respects be compared with that at Merton College, Oxford, each light having two foliated arches, between which another arch is introduced triangular in form. In the second window on the south side occurs an interesting illustration of the meeting of the ogee curvature of the later Decorated and of the Vertical tendency, from which the Perpendicular has obtained its name. It is most graceful, and the excellent stained glass with which it and the remaining windows in the chapel are filled materially enhances the effect.

Early in the fourteenth century a portion of the

the beautiful architecture of that "meridian hour of art," the last part of the thirteenth century. Of these but three remain, viz., Geddington (marvellously well preserved), Northampton (a good deal mutilated), and Waltham (much restored). Charing cross was "restored" in 1865 by Mr E. M. Barry.

The St Alban's cross was entirely demolished by the inhabitants who, as Doctor Stukeley, in his "Itinerarium Curiosum" informs us, "did not consider that such kind of antiquities invited many curious travellers."

south side of the nave fell. The work of reconstructing it was undertaken by Eversden, whose fine bays adjoining those of Trumpington are even of more exquisite design than his Lady Chapel, and much of the work here is now as perfect as on the day it left the artist's hands—some 550 years ago. It would be difficult to name in any church an elevation which rivals in magnificence that of the first ten bays on the south side of the nave at St Alban's.

There is a general and studied resemblance running through the design which could only result from the obedience of the fourteenth century architect to that of the older one, the height, length, and various subdivisions being nearly the same in both ages of the work, the difference in date being proclaimed by the detail. From the period of the completion of these bays, the nave of St Alban's, taking it at its fullest extent, *i.e.*, from the west door to the central tower, stands thus. The first four bays on the north are Early English and Trumpington's work; the remaining nine are the original Norman ones of Abbot Paul.

On the south side, the first five bays are the Early English of Trumpington, the next five are the Decorated of Eversden, and the remaining three are the Norman of Paul.[1]

At the time of the fall of the Norman work, much of the old cloister was crushed, but its restoration

[1] The two great Norman piers on the north side, just to the west of St Cuthbert's screen, were cut into their present rude octagonal shape, to repeat something like the plan of the Decorated ones opposite. The frescoes on the northern nave piers, representing six differently treated examples of the Crucifixion, were discovered in 1862. Most probably these paintings, which are of varying merit, and date from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century, indicated "stations," at which prayers were offered up during processions, etc. This would account for the arrangement, as well as for the repetition of the subject.

was commenced by Eversden. It was not, however, completed until the abbacy of Mentmore (1335-49), and even alterations were made at a still later date.

The cloisters vanished with the dissolution of the house, but to judge from such remains of wall-arcading as are still visible below the windows of the last seven bays of the nave, with which the square was commensurate in length, the work here must have been of the very best and most refined character.

John, King of France, who was taken captive by Edward the Black Prince at the battle of Poictiers in 1356, was for some time a prisoner in the monastery. During the abbacy of Thomas de la Mare, in 1388, the insurrection which broke out in Richard II.'s reign under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw threatened destruction to the abbey. Upon the insurrection being quelled, the king held a Court at St Alban's, and spent eight days in the monastery. De la Mare died in 1396, and his monumental brass, within the third arch on the south side of the choir, considered the finest in England, and worked during the abbot's life by a Flemish artist, occupies the place of Abbot Wheathamstead's, which was stolen.

A few years ago, when in the Dom at Lübeck, I paid special attention to the magnificent brasses, about twice the size of Abbot de la Mare's at St Alban's, to Bishops Johann von Mull and Burchard von Serken, who deceased in 1350 and 1317. Upon enquiry it turned out that the artist was a Fleming, and that he travelled to Lübeck and to St Alban's to engrave these brasses.[1]

Those who possess, or have opportunities for

[1] At the foot of these effigies is engraved a series of incidents in the life of St Eligius or Eloy, Bishop of Noyon, early in the seventh century. He had previously followed the calling of a worker in precious metal, being much esteemed as a maker of shrines for relics, and from the fact that one of the scenes represents him in his workshop seizing the devil, by whom he had been tempted, with his tongs, is often taken for St Dunstan.

examining Mr Creeny's work,[1] will see how very grand this Lübeck brass is, and how very similar it is in detail to the one at St Alban's and to the famous Flemish ones at Lynn, North Mymms, Wensley, Newark, and elsewhere. Placing them side by side, it will be observed that the Lübeck and St Alban's brasses are so exactly similar in detail as to leave no doubt that they were both engraved by the same man. Unlike the generality of this class of English sepulchral monument, the Lübeck and St Alban's brasses are remarkable for being one great engraved plate, and not one cut out to the shape of the figure and then inserted in an incised slab.

The screen which crosses the nave at the tenth bay dates from the middle of the fourteenth century. In pre-Reformation days it separated the church of the lay folks from that of the monks, and was continued across the aisles, an arrangement which, after a fashion, has been restored of late years.

For the use of the people there was an altar in the middle of this screen, flanked by doors, to admit of it being duly censed at High Mass, and surmounted by a reredos composed of two tiers of canopied niches, now all bereft of their imagery. To the east of St Cuthbert's screen[2] are three more bays of the great nave, Romanesque on both sides. Within the first of these bays stood the high close screen or *pulpitum* of the monks. Their stalls were returned against it, and stretched along either side of the choir until the junction of the eastern arch of the lantern with the sanctuary. What these stalls were like we can form no idea of now, but that they existed on the spot indicated is evident from two facts, viz., the discovery of their foundations in 1874, and the manner in which

[1] "Facsimiles of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe," Norwich, 1884.

[2] The great rood with its attendant figures did not stand on this screen, but upon a beam which spanned the church at the eastern arch of the tower.

THE NAVE LOOKING EAST
About 1870

ST. ALBAN'S . . CATHEDRAL

the great piers between the bays have been cut away for the reception of their backs and canopies. The bay immediately behind St Cuthbert's screen is now occupied by a temporary loft supporting the organ, which, with its row of tin pipes raised upon woodwork worse than the pseudo-Romanesque of Blore's days, completely destroys the magnificent effect once produced by the great altar-screen terminating the vista.

In this part of the church beyond St Cuthbert's screen the parochial services were held until the alarming state of the central tower in August 1870 necessitated the removal of the fittings to the nave. Such as they were, they dated in all probability from the time of Charles II., and what the choir of St Alban's was like prior to 1871, may be seen from the engravings in Clutterbuck's "Hertfordshire," Neale's "Collegiate and Parochial Churches,"[1] and photographs taken during the later sixties.

Although St Alban's was raised to cathedral rank in 1877, it is only within the last two or three years that, owing to the constant state of *bouleversement* in which it has been placed, the choir has been able to receive its permanent stalls, episcopal throne and pulpit. The former, which occupy the two bays on either side to the west of the lantern, and are returned against the temporary organ-loft, are graceful early Perpendicular works from the designs of Mr John Oldrid Scott and the *ateliers* of Mr Bridgeman of Lichfield.

At present "Cathedral Service" is only sung on Saturday afternoons.

The nave is now used for parochial worship, but of its fitttings the less said the better.

Standing beneath the organ-loft and looking eastwards, the general effect of the choir of St Alban's,

[1] Published in 1824. The drawings were exquisitely engraved on copper, mostly by Le Keux.

broken by the four noble arches of the lantern, and terminating in the lately restored altar-screen, is very impressive.

The singular position of the altar-screen, viz., within the fourth bay of the eastern limb, may be accounted for upon the supposition that it was completed before the removal of the high altar to the place prepared to receive it. Until the latter part of the fifteenth century the high altar was backed by an open screen fixed to the third cluster of columns from the lantern now partly concealed by the monument of Wheathamstead on one side, and that of Ramryge on the other, and behind it rose the shrine and *feretrum* of the great Hertfordshire saint.

Standing under the lantern of St Alban's Cathedral we learn something of the scope of Perpendicular art. The exquisite colouring of the groining in the sanctuary with its religious emblems, and the paintings on the transept roof with their figures and festoons and ribands go far to make the interest and beauty of the place. The reredos rises to a height of some 40 feet from the footpace, and an extract from John of Wheathamstead's Register says that "Abbat William Walynford made that most highly decorated, sumptuous and lofty face of the high altar which greatly adorns the church, and fills with pleasure the eyes of beholders; and to all who gaze upon it, it is the most divine object in the kingdom."

The reredos at St Alban's, like those at Winchester, Christchurch, Hants, All Souls, Oxford, and St Saviour's Cathedral, Southwark, forms a screen whose height and solidity no doubt destroys the most wonderful architectural spectacle the church could have presented in its palmiest days, yet how much the choir gains in height from the presence of this sumptuous Perpendicular erection!

The St Alban's and Winchester screens are similar in general design. Each has a large central crucifix, with figures above and below the arms, and three

tiers of large figures under canopies at the sides. The carving at St Alban's (I refer, of course, to the tabernacle work, for the imagery is entirely modern) is superior to that at Winchester, but the traceried canopies at Winchester far excel those at St Alban's. The imaginative power in the central canopy at Winchester is truly marvellous. It is a cathedral in miniature. The introduction of these screens formed one of the most important alterations effected at any period in the arrangement of the interiors of those two great churches, and would appear to have been designed to give seclusion to the shrines of their respective saints, and to enhance the magnificence of the high altar by the increased splendour with which it was accompanied.

At St Alban's the ornamental portions of the screen escaped injury after the Reformation, but it was subsequently despoiled of its imagery — most likely in the reign of Edward VI., when the church became parochial.

Happily, our own day has seen this magnificent piece of work restored to its pristine splendour through the munificence of Lord Aldenham.

The crucifix, carved from one block of stone weighing 17 tons, once more occupies its place as the great central subject of the reredos, and "forms of saints and holy men who died," the niches above, below, and around.

The architect to whom the restoration of this great work was entrusted was the late Sir Arthur Blomfield. The large figures were sculptured by Mr Harry Hems of Exeter out of magnesian limestone from Mansfield Woodhouse, and the smaller ones of alabaster. It is impossible to praise Mr Alfred Gilbert's coloured retabulum — a half-figure in high relief of Our Lord rising from the grave. A painting on a gold ground, or, preferably, a dossal of rich stuff, would have been much more in keeping with the rest of the work.

The beautiful altar of solid carved oak, harmonising with the stalls, and the pavement around it of varied marbles, are recent additions provided by the munificence of Lord Aldenham, and together with a rich frontal of white, exquisitely worked by Miss Wilshere of Welwyn, and the sixteenth-century brass candlesticks, presented by the Hon. Kenneth Gibbs and Mrs Tomlinson, tend to relieve the sanctuary of much of that coldness which it has worn hitherto.

Among the sepulchral memorials in this part of the cathedral is a stone which once exhibited in brass the figure of a monk kneeling at the foot of a cross, by which stood the Virgin and St John. It has been despoiled of all except the legend issuing from the mouth of the suppliant, and claims to be kept if only for the spirit of Christian faith which it manifests, and for the beauty of the language in which its sentiment is clothed.

> "Salva, Redemptor, plasma tuum nobile,
> Signatum Sancto Vultus tui lumine,
> Nec lacerari Sinas fraude dæmonum
> Propter quos mortis exsolvisti pretium."

This, the second verse of the "Annue Christi sæculorum Domine," an evening hymn of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, for the Festivals of Apostles in the Sarum Breviary, was thus Englished by the compilers of the *Hymnal Noted*, by whom it was wedded to four plain song melodies, two from the Sarum Office Books, and two of a less archaic character, from a modern French source, that of La Feillée.[1]

> "Redeemer! save Thy work,
> Thy noble work of grace,

[1] A liberal-minded reformer of plain song, who chiefly affected Marseilles and the south of France, during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The familiar melody to "O quanta qualia sunt illa sabbata" ("O what the joy and the glory must be") is due to La Feillée.

Sealed with the holy light
That beameth from Thy face;
Nor suffer them to fall
To Satan's wiles a prey,
For whom Thou did'st on earth
Death's costly ransom pay."

With the exception of the St Cuthbert's and the great altar-screens, and the sumptuous tombs of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and of Abbots Wheathamstead and Ramryge, no very extensive additions appear to have been made to St Alban's Cathedral during the Perpendicular period.

Abbot Wallingford removed the Norman windows from the ends of the transepts and inserted Perpendicular ones. He also endowed the west front with that Perpendicular window seen in the accompanying view of the exterior.

Now that this window has been displaced by the present vile erection, and the glorious altar-piece hidden by the miserable collection of tin organ pipes, how low and flat the nave of St Alban's looks to those who remember it before Lord Grimthorpe took it in hand! Equally villainous are the windows with which the same hands have disgraced the transepts; windows so utterly and irremediably bad, that to have illustrated the cathedral in its present condition would have been to have paid an undeserved compliment to architectural monstrosities, such as would have caused De Cella or Trumpington to "gasp and stare." I have therefore preferred to illustrate the church as it appeared before 1870, when as yet the nave was unencumbered with fittings, the view throughout unimpeded, and the painted ceiling intact.

During the Perpendicular period, all the high pitched roofs disappeared, and tracery was inserted in the Norman triforium arcades which had originally opened to a chamber in the roof. The aisle windows of the nave were inserted by Abbot Wheathamstead

(1420-40), who also decorated and filled a great part of the church with stained glass, of which but scanty fragments remain.

When the Wars of the Roses broke out, the first battle was fought at St Alban's in 1455, in, it is believed, Key Field, south-east of the city, between Richard, Duke of York, and Henry VI. Many of the noble persons who fell on that day were interred in the Lady Chapel. In the second battle, fought five years later on Bernard's Heath, north of the city, the king and queen, being victorious, proceeded to the shrine of the martyr to return thanks. Caxton, upon bringing the art of printing into England, set up a press at St Alban's, and issued from it the first historical work printed in this country (1480). In the time Cardinal Wolsey held the abbacy, printing was discontinued, Wolsey saying that if the clergy did not in time suppress the art it would be fatal to the Church. The last and fortieth abbot was Richard Boreman, whose appointment in 1538 appears to have been made solely with the view of the surrender of the great establishment to the Crown, and on 5th December 1539, this magnificent pile with its dependencies was made over to Henry VIII., the greater part of the site of the latter being granted to Sir Richard Lee. The smaller houses had from time to time been suppressed by order of individual prelates, or even by authority of the Holy See (*vide* chapter on Oxford Cathedral). There was precedent, therefore, for the suppression of small monasteries, many of which were dissolved in 1536. In 1539-40 all religious houses were suppressed throughout the realm by Parliament—186 large monasteries, such as Abingdon, St Alban's, St Edmundsbury, Canterbury, Ely, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Norwich, Peterborough, Winchester, and Worcester, 374 lesser monasteries, and 48 houses of the Knights Hospitallers. The conventual seal of St Alban's is still in the British Museum.

One's cheek reddens with shame at the bare remembrance of the utter degradation to which one monster had it in his power to reduce a church which had been founded by a St Augustine, shepherded by many a saintly bishop, and which had in times past produced a St Thomas à Becket, a St Edmund of Canterbury, and a St Richard of Chichester!

"There were, no doubt, very grievous circumstances connected with the English Reformation," remarks one of our most learned liturgiologists,[1] "chiefly the arbitrary, cruel, and licentious dealings of Henry and his nobles in despoiling the religious houses for the sake of their lands and abounding wealth, on which they laid their hands. It has been well said that 'the prize they fought for was, *the goods* and not *the good* of the church.' But no unprejudiced mind can doubt that there were grievous superstitions that needed removal, doctrines which had to be reconciled with the Word of God, and Church order which had to be restored, both in the episcopal and parochial systems, and freedom to be asserted both in civil and ecclesiastical matters. The authority of the bishops had been lowered by the extravagant claims of the Roman See, the bishops being regarded as so many curates of the Pope. The great part of our contention is the truth that the authority of our bishops is derived directly from Christ Himself, and is independent of the papacy."[2]

The changes which crept into society just previous to the Reformation to some extent caused the spiritual character of the monastic houses to drop out of sight; yet the proceedings of the men appointed by Henry VIII. to enquire into the life and possessions

[1] *Vide*, remarks on cathedrals of the "Old" and "New" Foundations, vol. i., p. 8.

[2] Rev. Vernon Staley in "The Catholic Religion, a Manual of Instruction for Members of the Anglican Church."

of the religious would not bear investigation in the light of modern knowledge.

The Church of England never did away with monasteries — the king did, for political and egotistical purposes; and when the Church of England monks offered to give up the papal supremacy he refused their offer, because they would not accept his supremacy instead, knowing that to do so would only be to go out of the frying-pan into the fire. Henry VIII. swore he would have the Bill or their heads, and they very naturally preferred the former. The religious were slandered that they might be the more easily robbed. There were black sheep among them, just as there are black sheep in every class of society now; and these few black sheep attracted more attention than all the cloistered saints. The monks possessed all the frailty and all the possibility for good inherent in humanity, and if we take into account their unsocialistic and unnatural mode of life, it is astonishing that their record is as creditable as history shows it to be.

For order and dignity St Alban's was nearly unrivalled among English religious houses. The Abbey was a town in itself, wholly independent of the houses which had grown up around it, of the township to which it had given both existence and a name. It had its own ponds and stews, which supplied the religious with the fish which, with vegetable diet, formed the staple of their fare; its orchards, from whose golden fruit the brethren formed the cider which they drank; its workshops, where the lay brethren toiled in making the ploughshares and other farm implements, and shoes for the horses; where they wrought the wool of their sheep into the coarse cloth of which their clothing was composed, and tanned the hides of their oxen for the leather from which others of their number would make shoes for the community; and made parchments from the skins of their sheep, on which to engross the deeds

and chronicles of the Abbey, and to copy out the service-books of their Church, for the new art of printing had not wholly abolished this branch of monastic labour. In short, it was a complete commonwealth, and in this respect it did but follow out the intention of St Benedict, who would have each community of his order support itself by its own industry.

Then, again, the splendour and magnificence with which it celebrated the services of Holy Church was another marked feature of this vast establishment. Scarcely at Canterbury, York, St Paul's, or the Cathedral of Salisbury itself in its palmiest days had the gorgeous ceremonial consolidated by St Osmund eclipsed in splendour the ritual observed at St Alban's Abbey, whose long-drawn aisles resounded daily at the seven hours of prayer[1] with psalmody swelled by hundreds of voices; whose processions on festivals could boast their crowds of

[1] *Mattins*, sung at daybreak; *prime* at six o'clock; *tierce* at nine o'clock; *sext* at noon; *nones* at three; *vespers* at six; and *compline*, just before retiring to rest. Anciently these offices were sung in the great conventual and collegiate establishments at the hours named, but afterwards they came to be recited by accumulation, as any one may comprehend who has attended the Chapter offices in the great cathedrals of France and Germany, or at home in the new Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster. It is from *mattins* and *prime*, and from *vespers* and *compline*, that the offices of mattins and evensong in the Prayer-Book are compiled.

The ancient order of these seven times of prayer, termed the Canonical Hours, commemorates the sufferings of our Lord.

> "At *mattins* bound, at *prime* reviled,
> Condemned to death at *tierce*,
> Nailed to the Cross at *sexts*, at *nones*
> His blessed side they pierce.
>
> "They take Him down at *vesper* tide,
> In grave at *compline* lay:
> Who thenceforth bids His Church observe
> The sevenfold hours alway."
>
> —Neale, "Essays on Liturgiology," p. 6.

novices, some in girded albs, swinging their silver censers, or carrying massive crucifix and waxen taper; others in snow-white rochets or flowing surplices, singing sweetly and lustily the appointed psalm or hymn; and their yet greater number of professed brethren, each in his cope of silver tissue, or cloth of gold, or costly samite, till the venerable Abbot, in mitre, gloves, and sandals, and holding in his right hand the pastoral staff, turned inwards, brought up the rear; while from early dawn to noon a succession of masses at the various altars implored, by the Blood shed on Calvary, and therein offered again to the Father, God's benediction on the brethren and the order, the Church and the nation.

"We mourn not for our abbey lands: e'en pass they as they may!
But we mourn because the tyrant found a richer spoil than they.
He cast away, as a thing defiled, the remembrance of the just,
And the relics of the martyrs he scattered to the dust;
Yet two at least, in their holy shrines, escaped the spoilers hand,
And St Cuthbert and St Edward might alone redeem a land!"

—Neale's "Hierologus."

Various periods have witnessed the destruction of the monastic buildings, but there can be no doubt that a perfect mine of wealth to the architectural world lies under the surface on the south side of St Alban's Cathedral, as when the great demolition took place, the *débris* covered the ground to a depth of several feet, and hence the fortunate though unintentional preservation of the various foundations with the moulded bases and parts of columns.[1]

Fortunately, the great church escaped, and was afterwards sold by Edward VI. to the inhabitants of St Alban's as a parish church, in lieu of the destroyed chapel of St Andrew, for £400, and in this character it remained until 1875, when an Act

[1] A considerable portion of the destroyed Chapter-house was discovered during some excavations in 1877, when its length was found to be 95 feet.

was passed to make arrangements for erecting a bishopric at St Alban's. The See, however, was not fully established until 30th April 1877, and on 12th June of that year, Dr Thomas Legh Claughton, translated from Rochester, was enthroned in his newly constituted cathedral.

It is not generally remembered that the vast church has at intervals since the dissolution received the considerate care of various sovereigns, and on more than one occasion by a Brief.

In 1612, for example, we learn from a MS. of the period, that James I. took a personal view of the structure as he made his progress into the north, "and out of his princely zeal and pious inclinacion to preserve so antient a monument and memorable witnesse of the first conversion of this kingdom from Paganisme to Christianity, granted a Brief for collections to be made throughout England and Wales for the speedy repair of the same."

Charles II. in 1680, George I. in 1720, and George III. in 1764, granted Briefs for the same object. William and Mary made grants out of certain ecclesiastical funds. In 1682, and in 1833, repairs were effected; in the latter year, under Mr L. N. Cottingham,[1] whose chief work was the strengthening of the nave roof, the entire restoration in Perpendicular of the great south transept window which had been debased in wood seventy years before,[2] the opening of all the windows in the clerestory of the nave, and the removal of the belfry, the floor of which was constructed between the clerestory and the triforium of the tower.

It was at this time that the typical Hertfordshire lead spire was removed. Twenty-three years later further steps were taken towards the restoration of this glorious epitome of English architecture at a

[1] For some notice of this architect, *see* vol. i., p. 213.

[2] As may be seen by reference to old prints of the Abbey, published between 1760—when this window was debased—and 1833.

public meeting of the county of Hertfordshire, held at the Court House, St Alban's, on the 5th of April 1856. A few days later, viz., on the Festival of the Proto-Martyr, 17th June, a congress of various architectural societies assembled within the walls of the Abbey Church to listen to Sir Gilbert Scott, who, in a peripatetic lecture very felicitously gave connection and life to its architectural history.

The large amount collected at this time was chiefly expended on purchasing a plot of ground on the north side of the church, so as to rescue it from the desecration of cottages to be built closely adjacent to the whole range of the north wall; in excavating the ground thus purchased, so as to relieve the walls of the earth which had gradually accumulated against them to the height of about 10 feet in front of the transept; in the careful reparation and underpinning of the wall thus exposed; and in the renewal in its whole length of the roof of the north aisle of the nave. By this means, the appearance of the whole north elevation of the exterior of the church was greatly improved.

On 22nd June 1871 another very successful meeting on behalf of a further restoration was held in Willis's Rooms, and a large portion of the £46,000 required to restore many of the features enumerated by Sir Gilbert Scott as desirable for the sake of giving back to the sacred building its pristine beauty and impressiveness, was either subscribed or promised.

The work of restoration proceeded slowly but surely under Scott's skilful direction between 1870 and 1878. In the following year, owing to funds failing, the committee resigned, and a new faculty was granted solely to the late Lord Grimthorpe with unlimited power to "restore, repair, and refit the church."

I refuse to reopen the miserable question of the atrocities committed during that unhappy period; sufficient has been said earlier in this chapter to

impart my ideas on the subject. I prefer, therefore, to dwell chiefly upon what was done under Sir Gilbert Scott, his son, Mr John Oldrid Scott, and Sir Arthur Blomfield, all of whose works were aided by splendid individual munificence.

One of Sir Gilbert Scott's most serious undertakings was the rehabilitation of the central tower—a great engineering work to which he devoted immense pains, and all the details of which he had most carefully contrived. Not only had this ponderous mass been raised on insecure foundations, but a deliberate attempt to destroy it had been made at some unknown period after the Dissolution, and a cave or hole, sufficiently large for a man to enter, had been worked into the foundation of the south-east pier. Safety, however, was happily secured, and the great tower now lifts its mass of ruddy Roman tiles against the sky without fear of collapse. This truly great undertaking was completed in 1878, only a few weeks after the death of its distinguished author, who, next to Westminster Abbey, loved St Alban's more than any other of our great churches. Indeed, he may be said to have made its study the chief work of his later years.

In its present form we see the general proportions of the tower and the unity of its original design nearly entire, but one cannot help regretting the removal, in 1833, of that slender fifteenth-century spire, which, constructed of timber and covered with lead, is so charmingly characteristic a feature of the towers in Hertfordshire and the counties adjacent. It is no argument against these spires that they are less ancient than the structures which they crown; their antiquity in very many instances is considerable, and the lead they furnish is not worth the risk of the censure incurred by their destruction.

There is plenty of length at St Alban's—what is wanted there is proportionate height, which every effort should be made to obtain. On this ground,

therefore, one would vote for the restoration of this lead spire, so familiar an object in the views given by Clutterbuck, Neale, and other historians of the early part of the last century.

Other very important undertakings at this period (*i.e.*, between 1871 and 1878) were the raising of the south side of the nave to the Perpendicular by hydraulic pressure; the vaulting and buttressing of the south aisle of the nave; the raising of the nave roof to the pitch of the Early English period; and the restoration and throwing open to the rest of the structure of the Lady Chapel, a most interesting work, accomplished mainly through the exertions of the ladies of Hertfordshire.

A wonderful archæological triumph—perhaps the most wonderful one of modern times—has been the almost entire recovery of the original Shrine of St Alban.

Nearly half a century back, during some operations in the Lady Chapel, the then Rector, Dr Nicholson, who wrote an excellent handbook to the grand old church, discovered a great many fragments of carving which he supposed was a part of the Shrine of St Alban. It stood at the extremity of the eastern limb behind the great reredos, and was not demolished at the surrender in 1539, this piece of iconoclasm being postponed for another fourteen years, when with other monuments, this exquisite specimen of fourteenth-century Gothic was pulled down, seemingly for the express purpose of supplying material for the walls which were being built to cut off the Lady Chapel from the church. Sixteen years after Dr Nicholson's first discovery, viz., on 8th February 1872, a further one of about three hundred pieces in Purbeck marble was made during the works then being prosecuted under Sir Gilbert Scott, close to the tomb of Duke Humphry. An affinity being found between the two collections of fragments, a search for more was rewarded. The discovery was

then made that they all belonged to the ancient shrine, and drawings were prepared with their aid to suggest the work as it appeared. Bit by bit, the remains were all discovered, and, by the combined skill of Mr Micklethwaite and Mr John Chapple (Sir Gilbert Scott's Clerk of the Works), pieced together, and the entire structure erected once more *in situ*. To the left of it, within the last bay of the eastern limb, is the side gallery from which the shrine was itself carefully watched night and day by the monks of the abbey. Though the actual *feretrum* of the shrine and its canopy are gone, yet there was little or no difficulty in completing the substantial parts of the structure which contained and supported it. The reconstruction of this shrine must for ever be regarded as the most marvellous restitution ever made of a piece of work of this kind, and from its present character we can infer the beauty of that object which attracted pilgrims from all parts of the country, and for whose reception the church was not too extensive.

With reference to the ultimate destination of that treasure which had for ages rendered the abbey illustrious (the relics of St Alban), it is not unlikely that at the dissolution some devout member of the fraternity, seeing the impending upheaval, had them conveyed to a place of safety, known only to himself and his associates, and that the remembrance of the asylum and of the relics died with them.

Dr Nicholson, the late rector of St Alban's, in his excellent "Handbook to the Abbey," first published in 1851, tells us that some of the remains of England's Proto-Martyr were taken out of his tomb, and given, about the year 429, to Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, who, with Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, rid this country of the Pelagian heresy. The foreign church historians record that these relics were carried by Germanus to Ravenna, and were afterwards removed to Rome, whence they consider them to have been carried to

Cologne, and placed in the Abbey of St Pantaleon, about the year 980, by Theophania, wife of the Emperor Otho II. There they remained for many centuries, the Martyr being held in great honour, under the name of Albinus, a modification which it underwent, that it might not be confounded with that of another Alban, the patron Saint of Mogentium (Mayence).[1]

When, early in the last century, the Abbey of St Pantaleon was suppressed, the buildings occupied as a military establishment, and the church appropriated to the Lutheran service, these relics were removed to the neighbouring church of Sta Maria, in Schnurgasse, and the ancient reliquary, which contained them, was placed in a wooden case over the altar of St Anne. When at Cologne this summer, the parish priest of Sta Maria in Schnurgasse—one of the least known, and, therefore, but little visited churches in this "Rome of the North"—informed me that a solemn exposition of these remains takes place annually on the Sunday after the 22nd June, the day on which, in the Roman Calendar, the saint is commemorated.

It would seem that the attaching the name of Alban to the 17th June was a mere inadvertency, when writing the festivals against their respective days in the Reformed Calendar of the English Church. Our own historian, Bede, both in his "Ecclesiastical History" and "Martyrology"; the foreign Martyrologists, Rabanus, Ado, and Notker, in the course of the ninth century; a breviary in the British Museum (Royal MSS. 2 A x); a chronicle in "The Harleian Collection of MSS.," No. 6217, translated from a Latin original, probably by a monk of St Alban's, not long after the death of Edward III.; three ancient Kalendars of the Sarum Use, the latest

[1] The vast double-apsed cathedral at Mayence is dedicated to this saint.

bearing date 1536, and published by Maskell in his "Monumenta Ritualia"; an "English Martyrology," published in 1608; and "The Roman Martyrology of Gregory XIII.," published at Rome in 1749, all assign the 10th of the Kalends of July (22nd June)[1] to the memory of St Alban.

Among the works which have enriched the literature of ecclesiology within the last thirty years is the fine folio in which Mr James Neale has illustrated St Alban's Cathedral. There are excellent general views, elevations, and sections; and the details of every part of the building are given from drawings worked to a scale on the spot; every moulding has been taken the real size, and all marks of restoration are clearly indicated. The plates are reproduced from the drawings by photolithography, so that an exact facsimile is obtained line for line.

To the architectural student, and, indeed, to all who desire thus rightly to understand the manner in which that vast abbey church, whose history is part of the history of England, has gradually been developed, Neale's book is invaluable, particularly as regards its exhaustive drawings of almost slavish accuracy which represent it as it appeared before the deplorable changes effected by Lord Grimthorpe.

I purposely use the word "developed," for, while the great mass of Abbot Paul's Norman church remains, the wonderfully rich eastern portion, with its shrine spaces and its chapels, seems like a natural growth of the later centuries. There is not a page in this sumptuous monograph which does not induce one to linger over it. The whole must have been a labour of love, bringing its reward, for no one can have made himself absolute master of all the various intricate details of such a church, ranging from Early

[1] Several Anglo-Catholic churches, dedicated to St Alban, keep their festival on this day, among them the celebrated one in Brooke Street, Holborn.

Norman to Perpendicular, without having entered completely into the spirit of the changes brought about in the long course of its chequered career.

RIPON

WHEN one is asked that somewhat difficult and unprofitable question, "which is the grandest and most perfect of all the English cathedrals," one of the first to rise before the mental retina is Ely; and when, in their turn, others appear—Lincoln, on its "sovereign hill"; Durham, towering over its wooded ravine; York, vast and majestic, rising cliff-like from the stony streets; Worcester, with its stately central tower reflected in the Severn; Canterbury, with all its venerable associations, and the most picturesque monastic remains; Lichfield and Wells, mirrored in deep, silent pools; Salisbury, springing from the close-shaven turfs of its nobly-foliaged close; however, any one or all of these may seem to rival Ely, the great minster of the fens holds her own well among them. Something is due to position; the level marshes and meadows which spread far and wide about the low hill of Ely are impressive enough in their way, and add to the effect of the great towers as much landmarks here as the tower of Mechlin is for the lowlands of Brabant, the spires of Chartres for La Beauce, and the "screen façades" of Brunswick, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg for the plains of Lower Saxony. Something, too, is due to the fact that the houses dominated by the Cathedral of Ely are little

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FROM THE SOUTH EAST

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more than cottages in height and appearance. The "city" is but a large village. It follows that the cathedral is not only the one object that catches the eye in approaching Ely, but that the whole scene suggests, in a very remarkable manner, the appearance which must have been presented by a great religious house at the zenith of its prosperity; when, as was especially the case at Ely, or at the not far distant Bury, the monastery had made the town, and still remained the great centre round which the town spread, and on which it depended. The long roof ridges and the lofty towers of Ely lift themselves wherever we turn. The houses at their feet are mere dependencies.

To some extent these remarks hold good in the case of Ripon Cathedral, which, for so modestly dimensioned a building, rises with uncommon dignity above the houses of the bright little city so pleasantly located on a point of land at the confluence of the Ure with the Laver and the Skell. The view of the Minster from the east as the train from Leeds sweeps round it is captivating in the highest degree.

The true interest of Ripon and that of the county within reach of the visitor lies in the ecclesiastical foundations so numerous and so important throughout all this part of Yorkshire. I refer, of course, to Fountains, Jervaulx, and Rievaulx, where the architectural student may drink deep of the well of early English Gothic, pure and undefiled. Ripon itself, or rather the site on which the city stands, was first colonised by certain monks from Melrose, among whom, Cuthbert, the future saint of Lindisfarne, acted as "hosteller," until after the Council of Whitby, held in 664, they resigned the place to St Wilfrid, by whom two monasteries were erected, one of which was on the site of the existing cathedral.

Wilfrid was a Northumbrian monk of Lindisfarne, who was raised to the See of York, and who founded

at Hexham the church and monastery of St Andrew, which were made the seat of a bishopric in 680, and to which St Etheldreda, the virgin queen of Northumbria, who had received the veil from the hands of Wilfrid at Coldingham in Berkshire, united in a compulsory marriage to her second husband, Egfrid, gave the whole of her dower, being the territory called Hexhamshire. Here Wilfrid determined to raise a church and a monastery; and here he accordingly built one which for beauty was reckoned matchless on this side of the Alps.

It was the fifth church of stone that had been reared in Saxon times; its predecessors being Candida Casa, or Withern, York, Lincoln, and Ripon. At this time Wilfrid held ecclesiastical rule over the whole country north of the Humber, but Ermenburga, the second wife of Egfrid, excited the king against the bishops, and, in a synod under Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, the diocese was divided into four parts —of York, Hexham, Lindisfarne, and Whitham—to all of which new bishops were appointed.

The ejected Wilfrid travelled to Rome and appealed to the Pope; but when he returned with a judgment in his favour, he was seized and thrown into prison, whence he was not liberated till Aldfrid had succeeded his brother in the kingdom, and Archbishop Theodore had repented and urged the restitution of the ancient diocese on his deathbed.

Wilfrid was then restored to the Sees of York and Hexham, and also to the government of the monastery of Ripon, which he loved best of all his ecclesiastical possessions.

This he was again called upon to resign in 692, in order that Ripon might be turned into a bishopric; and on refusing, he was again driven into exile, and lived for nine years in the Kingdom of Mercia. Wilfrid's case was once more referred to Rome in 702, and was once more given in his favour, when it was arranged that the bishop who was then

ruling over Hexham should be transferred to York, and that Wilfrid should again resume the bishopric of Hexham and the abbacy of Ripon.

These he enjoyed for four years, and dying at Oundle in 709, was buried in state at Ripon, whence his relics were translated to Canterbury in 948. The first and only Bishop of Ripon until the re-erection of the See in modern times was Eadhead, the See on his retirement after only a few years' tenure being merged in that of York.

Saxon churches have, according to the temper, the object, and the information of different writers, been most variously described, sometimes being degraded into something little better than wigwams, at others painted in language only suited to the statelier edifices of the succeeding race.

That many of the Saxon churches were built of stone, and on plans of great complexity, with crypts, triforia, clerestories, central towers, and other parts resembling in arrangement a Norman church, can hardly be doubted, from the descriptions that have been preserved to us. But that in dimensions and decorations they at all equalled the churches of their successors is wholly improbable. That contemporary writers should praise them as immeasurably lofty and spacious is natural, and in perfect accordance with the practice of all writers, who necessarily imagine the great works of their own age to be the greatest works possible because they have never seen anything better or half so good. Perhaps the best testimony to their comparative merit is that given by Bishop Wulfstan, and quoted in the chapter on Worcester Cathedral of this work.[1]

At Ripon, Stephen Eddy tells us Wilfrid built a new church of *polished stone*, with columns variously ornamented, and porches. It was, perhaps, in bad imitation of the marble buildings he had seen in Italy that he washed the outer walls of this original

[1] Vol. i., p. 168.

York minster, and made them, as the prophet says, *whiter than snow.*

The account of the dedication of the church at Ripon in Eddy's "Life of St Wilfrid" is the earliest of the kind which is left to us of the dedication of an English church, and is therefore of unusual value and interest.[1]

The architectural history of a mediæval cathedral almost invariably presents several chronological puzzles, but this of Ripon Minster, owing to the retrospective character of much of the work, has been more difficult to disentangle than any other. But so completely have such eminent archæologists as Messrs J. R. Walbran, George Ayclyffe Poole, and Edmund Sharpe investigated the numerous and perplexing strata that time has deposited on its original nucleus, that little has been left for future historians to do but follow in their footsteps.

Of the church founded here by St Wilfrid, we have undoubtedly a most curious and interesting, if not absolutely unique, relic in the crypt,[2] whose primary purpose, connected as it was with local rituals and observances so little known to us, has afforded a wide field for controversy which has not yet been set at rest.

Of the simplest and rudest construction, this crypt is situated under the great central tower, being approached from the nave by a flight of nine stone steps and a low, sloping passage 45 feet long. It comprises a cylindrically vaulted cell 7 feet 9 inches wide, 11 feet 3 inches long, and 9 feet 4 inches high, entered by a narrow, round-headed doorway 6 feet

[1] *See* Churton's *Early English Church* in Burns' "English-man's Library" (1840), p. 88 *et seq.*

[2] A crypt of similar character exists beneath the same founder's church at Hexham. Perhaps Mr Micklethwaite, in a note appended to the 78th edition of Mr Walbran's Ripon Guide, has most effectually settled the question of these extraordinary substructures.

2 inches high. In the west wall is another doorway opening into a somewhat wider vestibule which turns to the north, and leads to an ascending passage and flight of steps along the back of the north wall of the cell to a doorway, now blocked, from which the crypt was originally entered. The so-called "Needle"—without being drawn through which a visit to the minster is thought incomplete—has been formed by perforating a niche 13 inches wide and 18 in height, on the north side of the central cell through the thickness of the wall to the parallel passage behind. The purposes to which this very singular feature has been successively applied, are not certainly ascertained. Camden was told, within memory of the Reformation, that females were drawn through this "Needle" as an ordeal of their chastity, the culprit being miraculously detained; or, as "worthy" old Thomas Fuller has wittily observed, "They prick'd their credits who could not thread the needle."

Odo "the Severe," Archbishop of Canterbury from 942 to 959, is said to have commenced a new church on the site of the present cathedral, but in the devastation of Yorkshire by the Normans in 1069 it was destroyed, after which a new church was begun under Thomas of Bayeux, the first Archbishop of York appointed after the Conquest, and who had also found his own cathedral at York in ruins.

If, as is generally supposed, the nucleus of the present Chapter-house and apsidally terminated vestry east of the present south transept formed the choir of De Bayeux's cathedral, it could not have been a very grandly dimensioned edifice. At any rate, about the middle of the twelfth century, that great promoter of the Transition style in Northumbria, Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Evêque, who about the same time was engaged upon a similar work of re-edification at York Minster, began an entirely new church at Ripon, to the

north of this building, which on its completion became the Chapter-house and sacristy of the new structure.

Of Archbishop Roger's church, whose peculiarity was that the nave had no aisles, we have most valuable and beautiful remains in the first bay of the nave adjoining the western and central towers; a very large portion of the transepts; the three first open bays on the north side of the choir; the wall of the north choir-aisle to the extent of three bays, and that of the south as far as the apse of the sacristy; the second pier from the east on the south side of the choir; and the north and west sides of the central tower.

Roger's church had, in all probability, like his choir at York, one of those square east ends which had just come into fashion, and comprising, as it did, only four bays, provision must have been made for the stalls of the religious beneath the central tower.

To the aisleless nave of this twelfth-century church a pair of western towers, and a façade flush with them, were added between 1215 and 1255 by Archbishop Walter de Grey, to whom, it will be remembered, we owe that *ne plus ultra* of Early English refinement, the south transept of York. In fact, it is very interesting to observe what care the Archbishops of York always had for this church at Ripon, works of re-edification progressing in both great churches almost simultaneously — *i.e.*, the Norman under Thomas de Bayeux, the Transitional under Roger, and the Early English under Walter de Grey.

It is clear from the work on the basement storey of De Grey's towers that he had no intention of giving aisles to the Transitional nave. These were not added until Roger's work was almost entirely rebuilt in Late Perpendicular times. Uninformed of this fact, the student must often have wondered

at the manner in which the eastern walls of the towers are fenestrated in lieu of opening into the aisles by arches. The vaulting of the Chapter-house, and the circular windows lighting its south side, were works of the Early English period.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century it was found necessary to extend the choir eastwards. Between 1288 and 1300 two bays were added to it, and, in order to assimilate the work with the Transitional portion, it was made as far as possible to assume a retrospective character. A little later a Lady Chapel was built over the Norman Chapter-house, the place of honour, *i.e.*, the east end of the choir, being assigned to St Wilfrid, a portion of whose relics had been kept at Ripon on the transference of the greater portion of them to Canterbury by Odo in the tenth century.

About 1454 the central tower of Archbishop Roger collapsed, damaging in its fall two bays on the south side of the choir and the eastern wall of the transept. The damaged portions and the south and east sides of the tower were rebuilt in Perpendicular, and to this period may be assigned the choir-screen and beautiful array of canopied stalls.

Then, between 1502 and 1522 Archbishop Roger's nave was almost entirely removed and re-erected with a lofty arcade and clerestory, and aisles obtained by a line drawn from the outer angle of the western towers to the central wall pier of the transepts. Thus the church assumed that character which in the main exists to-day. If the church had any cloisters they must have been removed when the present nave was built, and not re-erected. Could there have been some prescience of the coming change in the religious affairs of England?

The monastery founded at Ripon by Wilfrid was Benedictine. This was succeeded by a collegiate establishment. Next we find it peopled by Augustinian canons, who held possession until the

suppression of the Order in 1547, the church remaining only parochial until 1604, when King James I. refounded the ancient collegiate establishment. Since then, certain statutes have been framed from time to time for the government of the church, which existed in its dual character of collegiate and parochial until 1836, when it was raised to cathedral dignity on the refoundation of the See of Ripon, Dr Thomas Longley, translated in 1856 to Durham, in 1860 to York, and thence in 1862 to Canterbury, becoming the first bishop.

Architecturally, the church suffered considerably during the Puritan ascendency. On 8th December 1660 a violent storm of wind blew the central spire, which had been left since 1593 in a partially destroyed state, into the choir, damaging the canopies of several of the stalls on either side. These were restored in the Renaissance style then prevalent. The work was very good of its kind, and certainly deserved a better fate when the choir was restored half a century ago.[1]

The spire blown down was not replaced, and to avert a similar calamity it was deemed prudent, four years later, to remove the spires which surmounted the western towers. Many of our cathedral towers were crowned with spires of wood covered with lead,

[1] One of the best views of the choir of Ripon Minster showing these Caroline canopies, is in the possession of my esteemed friend, Mr C. H. Moody, organist and master of the choristers, under whom, during the comparatively short time he has held office, the musical services have reached their present state of excellence.

The frills worn by the Ripon "children" is a picturesque feature in their choir dress, and has been in use ever since the church was re-collegiated in James I.'s days.

At Durham, when the choir was refitted after the Restoration, James Clement certainly succeeded in attaining a general effect of mediævalism in his series of canopied stalls. Thus proving, as also in the case of the central spire at Lichfield, how admirably the seventeenth-century men could imitate work of the best periods when they had the will to do so.

as, for instance, Canterbury, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln, Peterborough, Rochester, and St Alban's, but at different times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these have been removed, from motives of security; at least, it was always said so.

Spires of this description exist, though of course on a small scale, on the church towers of Beds, Herts, and the eastern counties, where they form very pleasing features. In North Germany, where the stone spire, so dear to English eyes, is of rare occurrence, wooden spires, covered with lead, copper or slate, largely predominate, even on such grandly proportioned towers as those at Halberstadt, Lübeck, Lüneburg, Osnabrück, and Soëst.

Notwithstanding the successive tinkerings to which the minster had been subjected during the Georgian period, it was found in a state of very serious dilapidation, when Sir Gilbert Scott presented his Report to the Dean and Chapter in 1862.

The foundations of the western towers and portions of the west front were insecure and gradually giving way. Fissures of an alarming character existed on every side of either tower from its base to the top of its walls, while the Decorated mullions and tracery which had been inserted in the double tier of lancets in the façade were so decayed as to be only prevented from precipitating themselves into the nave by beams of wood placed across them. Sir Gilbert, finding these interpolations to be beyond the reach of repair, took them out, and having once done so, the beauty of the earlier design became so apparent that it seemed barbarous to introduce new ones, so the windows now appear as they were originally left by their early thirteenth-century architect. Opinions, of course, differed as to Scott's treatment of this work, but he had the satisfaction of finding, unasked for, the full approval of that eminent authority on windows and their tracery, Mr Edmund Sharpe.

The central tower, owing to the strange union of Transitional and Perpendicular, the older work falling

away from the later, was in a very unsatisfactory state and much cracked, while the pinnacles and flying buttresses, and a considerable portion of the ornamental parts of the church, were in a condition of advanced decay. Such was the state generally of the fabric. Nothing could be more unseemly than the interior of the choir. The north and south aisles were disfigured by unsightly galleries with darksome dens underneath them, for the ladies of the "Close families," and several of the windows had been blocked up.

The choir had been prepared for groining when it was lengthened at the end of the thirteenth century. It is possible that it then received an oak groining on the stone springers, though at the time of the restorations of 1862-69 a sham one of lath and plaster existed, with, however, magnificently carved bosses.[1] The transepts had been groined in plaster and *papier mâché*, and the nave had received a flat deal ceiling under the direction of Blore between 1829 and 1834. The nave aisles had been prepared for groining, but it had never been carried out.

In the choir, Sir Gilbert Scott substituted the present oak groining, decorated by Clayton and Bell, for the plaster one, the ancient bosses being reused. The external roof and the eastern gable were raised to their old pitch, and on the *papier mâché* work being stripped from the transepts, the old oak roofs were exposed. Subsequently, the plain roof of 1829 was taken off the nave, and an oak vault given to it and adapted to the old springers on the *motif* of the transepts at York Minster. This was the last portion of the work undertaken. It had to be constructed without disturbing the exterior roof, although little more than six inches of space existed between the two, the beams in some places touching each

[1] Since the fall of the spire in 1660 the choir of Ripon Minster has been thrice re-roofed.

THE NAVE LOOKING EAST

RIPON CATHEDRAL

other. Concurrently, the nave aisles received the stone groining for which preparations had been made in the sixteenth century.

The church being at once cathedral and parochial, some difficulty was found in the rearrangement of the choir, which even now cannot be pronounced satisfactory. The solid stone rood-loft remaining beneath the eastern arch of the lantern, Sir Gilbert Scott adhered to his principle of not disturbing an old work of this kind, so that the whole parochial congregation had to be accommodated in the eastern arm of the church. Of late years, the Sunday services have largely been held in the nave, which has been satisfactorily furnished, and were the high altar brought forward to its original place, *i.e.*, one bay in advance of the east wall, so as to leave a *via processionâm* behind it as at Carlisle and Selby, the nave might be used for the Sunday services, the choir being reserved for celebrations, and for the daily services when but a few attend.

The choir was reopened after restoration and rearrangement, 27th January 1869; the nave in October, three years later.

Situated upon ground sloping rapidly from north to south, and with an extensive and pleasantly foliaged churchyard on its south and east sides, good general views of Ripon Minster may be had from any point; and, although monastic remains are not in evidence, the precincts, removed as they are from the busy quarter of the city, are on the whole very spirit-soothing and peaceful. The steep ascent to the south transept door from St Agnes Gate is unusually picturesque.

As an architectural group, no church of its size is more pleasing, but the *ensemble* would doubtless be improved by the restoration of the spires to the western towers. In their present state they exclaim for a capping of some kind, the pinnacles and battlements added to them in 1797 by Dr Waddilove

during his tenure of the Deanery (1791-1829) being questionable improvements.

With regard to the west front, which is so wide as to contain three portals, opinions differ, some extolling it as a pure and beautiful specimen of Early English, others condemning it as heavy, cold, bald,[1] and unimaginative to excess. Of course it ought not to be judged without regard to the fact that when built it was a façade to a much narrower church. This would make it relatively better than it is now, though substantively the same. All this is, however, purely a matter of taste.

Among the external *admiranda* of Ripon Minster must be mentioned the Perpendicular window tracery in the nave and western portion of the choir; the fine double-headed buttresses in the same style to the former; the elevation of the north transept, not only the most perfect part of Roger's work, but one of the most perfect pieces of Transitional architecture we possess; the north and south transept portals, each unrivalled as a specimen of its period; the gracefully traceried square-headed windows which light the Lady-loft above the Norman Chapter-house; the late thirteenth-century clerestory windows in the two easternmost bays of the choir; and the east end with its grandly gathered-up buttresses and window whose Geometrical tracery was always held up by Edmund Sharpe as a model of its kind. The choir-aisles are carried on to the extreme east end after the Yorkshire fashion.

On entering the nave of Ripon Cathedral, the eye is instantly arrested by its great breadth, which, including the aisles, is 87 feet. This, however, is admirably carried off by the height, nearly 90 feet.

The bases of the noble series of Late Perpendicular columns and arches interpolated between the surviving portions of Roger's nave rest upon the outer

[1] Since the removal of the Decorated tracery from the windows, perhaps.

walls of that structure, whose complete design is only recoverable by analogy. From the portions existing, its elevation would seem to have been composed of three storeys; the first consisting of an unrelieved wall space rising to the height of the columns supporting the western tower arches; the second having an arcade of pointed arches subdivided into pairs by slender shafts, and with the tympanum alone relieved by a small ornament; the third or clerestory stage presenting another arcade of three lancet openings on very plain shafts. Such an arrangement may be seen in the western portion of the choir of Rochester Cathedral, and in the little church of Nun Monkton, near York, both Early English buildings and but little later than the nave of Ripon, which would have been the last portion of the work undertaken, and therefore more purely Pointed in style than the choir and transepts.

The Early English work on the nave sides of the western towers is of that very beautiful Yorkshire type as seen in Rievaulx and Whitby Abbeys. We have first an arch springing from gracefully clustered shafts; next a blind triforium stage comprising four lancet arcades, of which the two central ones are much stilted, contained beneath a semicircular containing arch; and then, corresponding to the clerestory of the Transitional bay next to it, an arcade of three openings, one wide and the other two narrow, the former being lighted by a large lancet receiving its light from the tower.

For the period of their construction (1502-22) the five great Perpendicular arcades are very pure and beautiful, proving how Gothic had kept up its virility in England, whereas in France and Germany it had either degenerated into flimsiness, or had run riot into extravagance.

There is no distinct triforium, a passage being formed above the pier arches in front of the grand

clerestory windows by arches cut in their reveals. The Perpendicular work in the aisles is likewise good; that of the southern aisle being slightly earlier than the northern. Unfortunately, the graceful windows are filled with a heterogeneous collection of modern stained glass, whose design, except in a very few instances, shows little or no knowledge of Perpendicular work in their artists and promoters. The most satisfactory stained glass in the nave is that by Messrs Burlison and Grylls in the ten lancets above the west door, in which those artists have adopted a somewhat late treatment.

It will be remembered that the south and east sides of the central tower fell in the fifteenth century, necessitating their reconstruction in the style of that epoch. The piers and arches opening from the tower space into the choir and south transept are noble specimens of their rather Late Perpendicular date, and the acutely pointed shape taken by the latter has often caused them to be mistaken for Early English.

Preparations were made for rebuilding the other two sides of the tower in the same style, but the works appear to have come to an abrupt conclusion with the great south-western column. Had the work been carried to completion, we should have had one of the grandest and most imposing groups of tower arches in England, though at the loss of the valuable Transitional ones, and the two stages above them.

In the south transept, when the twelfth century was injured by the fall of the tower, lofty arcades, doubtless the prototypes of those in the nave, were built between it and its eastern aisle. Here the flight of steps communicating with the Lady-loft confers an air of great picturesqueness upon this part of the cathedral.

The north transept, except the arch which has been cut through its western wall into the nave

aisle, is completely Transitional, and of the deepest interest to the architectural student.

The half pillars supporting the two pointed arches opening into the eastern aisle of this transept have severely plain capitals, yet they possess a degree of beauty equal in its way to the most elaborate capitals of later times.

I have observed the same kind of unfoliated capital in divers parts of France, notably in the south-west at Tulle, where simplicity was suggested by the material — granite. In this part of the cathedral the round and pointed arch meet in friendly rivalry, the arcades in the triforium gallery being pointed, and those in the clerestory round. Decorated tracery has been inserted in the three round-headed windows of the second tier in the northern front, as well as some modern stained glass of *jejune* character.

The monks of Ripon seem to have courted seclusion, for, in addition to the high close "pulpitum"[1] under the eastern arch of the tower, the arches opening into the choir-aisles were completely walled up and pierced with pointed doorways. The piers of the door admitting to the north choir-aisle have very narrow plain capitals, such as I have observed in the Early English tower arches of Horton Kirby Church, near Dartford, in the belfry stages of the western towers at Lichfield, and elsewhere. Such capitals are not infrequent in Early Italian Gothic. The wall space above this doorway is quite plain, but that above the Perpendicular archway opening into the southern aisle of the choir is relieved by three niches.

The great choir-screen, a superb piece of Perpendicular work, albeit bereft of its imagery, supports the organ, a fine instrument built in 1878 by Lewis,

[1] If, as it is believed, the low stone pulpit now standing in the north transept occupied this screen, it was a veritable "pulpitum."

but lately improved by Hill under the direction of the present organist, whose frequent recitals upon it are a great joy to the citizens and others from distances. Its predecessor was a poor instrument built in 1833 by Booth of Leeds, and enclosed in a "Gothic" case of Blore's designing. This organ displaced one built in 1696 by Gerhard Smith, of which four stops were alone retained.

I have already dwelt upon the various architectural changes that have been effected in the choir. It is very impressive, and would be doubly so were the high altar advanced one bay and half the cumbersome benches removed.

Here we may admire the graceful array of spirally canopied stalls whose *misereres*, when turned up, exhibit the usual quaint carvings.[1] The junction between the Transitional and Decorated work on the north side is marked by a group of ugly heads styled "the scoffers." The piers supporting the arches both in the Transitional and Decorated portions of the choir are composed of eight slender shafts with capitals of the same type as those in the north transept. Here the columns stand isolated, the vaulting shafts being stopped off on their capitals.

The lean-to roofs above the aisles have been, at some period, removed, and all the windows in the triforium stage glazed. Unaware of this fact, the student must often have wondered at the two pointed lights of the round-headed arch in the Transitional portion divided by a central column and ornamented with those sharp cusps which are, in reality, shown from the later mullion behind. The inner plane of tracery to the two easternmost

[1] There is now no distinct episcopal throne in Ripon Cathedral, the Bishop occupying the easternmost stall on the south side, which appears, from a carved mitre in its back, to have been that originally assigned to the Archbishop. The throne set up in 1812 for Archbishop Markham has been removed and placed at the west end of the north nave aisle.

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clerestory windows on either side is deserving of the closest study.

When the cathedral was defaced in 1643 by the soldiers under command of Sir Thomas Mauleverer, whose main guard was in the Market Place, the original fourteenth-century glazing of the great east window suffered terribly. Such glass as escaped was collected in 1724 by Dean Dering and placed, under the direction of Giles of York, in the tracery, where it remained until 1854, when the window was newly glazed throughout by Wailes of Newcastle.

Peckitt, also of York, made some alterations in the glazing of the seven lights in 1796, and in 1832 Willement repaired and rearranged several old panels of arms and added to them.

Wailes' glass, which was in the Great Exhibition of 1851, was an average specimen of his abilities when under the influence of Pugin, and, like too much of this work of the Early Gothic Revival, laboured under a surfeit of positive colour. Stained glass painters of that day could not, or would not, be brought to understand the importance of the abundant use of white, unless it was thoroughly dinned into them by some such architect of eminence as Carpenter, Pugin, or Street.

This glass in the east window of Ripon Cathedral, which was inserted as a memorial of the refoundation of the See in 1836, represents Our Lord giving His commission to the Apostles, and smaller groups in predellæ below. Some improvement was effected in the *ensemble* of the work in 1896 when, under the direction of Sir Arthur Blomfield, Mr A. O. Hemming introduced a new central figure, besides separating the large central subject from the smaller ones below it.

What remained of the mediæval glass in the tracery was removed to the westernmost window of the south aisle of the nave, where it may still be seen.

The arcading of the wall below the east window was discovered during the restoration of 1862-67 behind a screen, which had been put up some thirty years before from Blore's designs.

To make way for this a painting by Streator (*temp.* Charles II.), representing an Ionic colonnade in perspective, and "admitted by artists to be a very correct performance" (so the Ripon Guide of 1833 said), was displaced.

The very handsome altar-frontal in ferial use is from the accomplished needle of Miss Crosse.

Altogether Ripon Cathedral is a deeply interesting one, and grows upon the student at every successive visit. To dismiss it in a single or a cursory survey, as, it is to be feared, too many, eager for Fountains and elsewhere do, is impossible. In concluding this essay I can assure those of my readers who have yet to make its acquaintance that they will find in Ripon Minster a far finer pile than books or common report had led them to expect.

MANCHESTER

THE rearrangement of the diocese of London in 1845, by which the county of Essex and a part of Hertfordshire were taken from it and added to that of Rochester, was part of a plan which included also the better provision of ecclesiastical superintendence through the country generally.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners at first proposed

to effect this object without increasing the number of bishops, by uniting small dioceses with others already existing, and creating, out of the revenues of the former, new episcopal seats where they were most needed. This scheme had already been acted upon in the case of Bristol, the union of which with Gloucester was followed by the creation of the See of Ripon. But when it was proposed to unite St Asaph with Bangor, in order to make Manchester the seat of a new bishopric with the object of relieving the evergrowing diocese of Chester, which at that time comprised Lancashire, the plan met with a very strong opposition.

The subject was discussed in every session until 1846, when on the succession of Lord John Russell to Sir Robert Peel as premier, a promise was given by the Government that four new bishoprics should be created; but beyond the erection of Manchester into a See in 1847, that promise was not performed until the creation thirty years later of St Alban's and Truro.

The first Bishop of Manchester was Dr James Prince Lee, who naturally had assigned to him as his cathedral the large and stately Perpendicular Collegiate Church of St Mary, or, as it was then commonly styled, as indeed it frequently is now, "the Old Church."

It has been generally thought that no portion of the existing church is earlier than when it was collegiated, early in the fifteenth century. Thanks, however, to the indefatigable researches of the late Mr J. S. Crowther, who for more than half a century kept a watchful eye upon it, Manchester Cathedral has been found to enshrine numerous fragments of three churches anterior to the present apparently quite Perpendicular structure. Some of these remains attest the fact that there was a stone church here dating at the latest from the beginning of the seventh century.

One of these relics was a stone on which was carved an angel with expanded wings, holding a scroll bearing an incised inscription in uncial letters having a marked resemblance to Anglo - Saxon characters of the seventh or eighth centuries. Seemingly this angel formed part of a subject representing the Annunciation of Our Lady, and formed the tympanum of the south doorway of the Anglo - Saxon church. This interesting relic is carefully preserved in a glass case in the Library of the cathedral.

Some fragments of the groined vault of an Early English porch, and two respond capitals[1] of the same period, were discovered in 1872 on taking down the north-western respond of the northern nave arcade; also the caps and bases of a western respond, in removing the first column to the east of the pier arches between the chapel of the Most Holy Trinity and the inner north aisle. In one of the spandrels of the southern pier arches of the nave another respond capital and part of the moulded joint of a good Early English doorway presented themselves, while several moulded voussoirs, also of thirteenth-century date, turned up in the spandrels of the northern arcade.

All these remains, which, with the characteristic indifference of successive mediæval builders to the work of their forefathers, had been thrown about *pêle mêle*, are sufficient to indicate that the church, founded at Manchester in 1230 by Robert Greslet, fifth Lord, or by his son Thomas, sixth Baron, who succeeded him in 1231, was one of no uncommon grandeur and excellence. Nor was this all. Remains of Late Decorated work were discovered embedded in the great arch between the nave and the choir made up of mullions, sills, and

[1] In architectural nomenclature, a *Respond* is the half column upon which the arch rests at the western or eastern extremity of the arcade.

tracery stones, and in the eastern walls of the chapels of St Nicholas and St James.

The singular absence of any Norman work may be attributed to the fact that the old Anglo-Saxon church was of such massive construction as to have survived up to the beginning of the thirteenth century, an almost unique experience.

The Early English church remained until the latter part of the fifteenth century, when it was completely removed and replaced by a graceful structure of which the pier arches and parts of the aisles still furnish examples. The Early English choir, which it is believed had no aisles, was removed between 1340 and 1345, when, together with the Lady Chapel, it was rebuilt in the Flowing Decorated style prevalent at that period, which was one of great architectural activity in this part of England.

Remains of the fourteenth-century choir exist in the eastern responds of the arcade, in the arch between the procession path and the Lady Chapel, and in the north and south-east walls of the latter to the height of a foot and a half above the floor. Work of the same period was also found in the north, south and west walls of the tower during its rebuilding in 1864-68 to the height of 15 feet.

Thus, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, Manchester Cathedral consisted of a Late Decorated choir and Lady Chapel, an Early English nave with north and south aisles, a Late Decorated western tower, and a quadrangular sacristy on the south side of the choir.

When the church was raised from parochial to collegiate rank by Thomas Lord de la Warre in 1422, it began to assume its present rich Perpendicular character, scant ceremony being observed, as I have already remarked, with regard to the work of previous epochs.[1]

[1] The material was brown sandstone from Collyhurst, but when the outside was faced during the last century a very

This New Foundation was to have been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, St Denys, and St George, but in the charter only the first name occurs. This triple dedication, considering the hostile relations existing between England and France at that period, is certainly very remarkable, and looks as if the notion was to interpose St Mary as a peace-maker between the two saintly representatives of the contending nations.

As a collegiate church, Manchester held three separate charters. The first was granted by King Henry V. on 22nd May 1421, with the following foundation: a warden, four fellows, four singing priests, and six choristers. This foundation was dissolved by Edward VI., but was re-established by Queen Mary. In 1578 Queen Elizabeth granted a new charter, with a foundation embracing a warden, four fellows, two chaplains (singing priests), four lay singers, and four children. The third charter was that of King Charles I., granted on 30th September 1635, and provided for a warden, four fellows, two chaplains, two clerks, four singers (lay or clerical), four boys, a sub-warden, treasurer, collector, registrar, master of the choristers, instructor and organist.[1] For certain purposes this last charter is still operative. The church remains parochial, and retains its ancient collegiate organisation, but was transformed into a cathedral church by an Act passed in 1847 when the bishopric of Manchester was

durable stone quarried from Ramsbottom, 12 miles from Manchester, was employed. The stone is a millstone grit, very hard to work, but well suited for its purpose.

[1] This charter was drawn up by Archbishop Laud. On 5th November 1649, after the dissolution of the college and the setting up within it of a meeting by the Independents, the Chapter-house and College chest were broken open, and the deeds belonging to the foundation seized upon and sent to London, where they perished in the Great Fire of 1666.

founded; modified, however, in important respects by a subsequent Act of Parliament in 1850.

The present staff consists of a dean and four residentiary canons, twenty-four honorary canons, two minor canons, two clerks in orders, an organist, four singing men, and four singing boys on the foundation, to whom others are added by subscription.

The first warden of the New Foundation was John Huntington, a great patron of architecture, and his work, the Perpendicular of the choir, is characterised by much lightness and delicacy of design.

Under several wardens, most of whom were solicitous for the splendour of the fabric, the work of reconstructing the Early English and Decorated portions went on for a period of nearly a hundred years, the work being crowned by the stately western pinnacled tower. By the time the works were completed, the area of the church had been greatly enlarged by the erection of an octagonal Chapter-house and several chapels opening from the aisles, which, while imparting great picturesqueness to the internal views across the vast chair-seated area, make the exterior look lower than it really is, while the absence of transepts and the single tower at the west end but too plainly set it forth as the parish church of Manchester rather than the cathedral of the diocese. The church also stands in the very lowest part of the city, and its flat pitched roof does not show itself above the buildings amongst which it stands. The addition of a high-pitched roof to the nave and choir would give an appearance of greater consequence to the pile; in fact, a long line of leaden roof, unbroken by transepts or central tower, would have a striking effect, perhaps unequalled by that of any other edifice in England.

The wonderful improvement that this would make in the sky-line may perhaps be slightly judged of from the effect of this noble feature in the Perpendicular

churches of Norfolk and Suffolk.[1] I trust that I may not be accused of advocating *unreality* of construction in thus urging the adoption of a high-pitched roof, though by no means recommending the removal of the internal low-pitched panelled ceilings which are very excellent examples of their kind, and we cannot in these days afford to destroy fine specimens of the sort.

Before the erection of the chantry chapels on the northern side of the church, the choir and nave were both widened, but the arch communicating between the retrochoir and the Lady Chapel was not interfered with, the work gradually sloping from it until the requisite width was attained at the west end. Here, however, it was necessary, in order to meet the increased width, to remove the Late Decorated arch, then existing between the nave and the choir, as the wall space to the north of it would have been in excess of that on the south. This gradual narrowing of the choir towards the east at Manchester would perhaps only be noticed by the practised eye, and, far from being a defect, only adds one more beauty to an already charming interior.

In 1815 the graceful Perpendicular nave was "beautified," galleries being built in the outer aisles or chapels, wretched pewing introduced, and the structure generally treated in the manner too often prevalent at that dark epoch of church history.

There were at that time two organs on the loft between the nave and the choir, a great one for the parochial, and a small one for the collegiate services. The former was removed in readiness for the first Musical Festival of 1828, and placed in a tribune

[1] As, for instance, at Wigenhale St Mary the Virgin, Worstead, Martham, Hingham, Morley—St Botolph, Woolpit and Bramford. The naves of Peterborough and St Alban's cathedrals furnish examples of flat panelled ceilings within and high-pitched gables without. Newcastle, Rochester, and Wakefield would gain immensely by such an addition.

at the west end of the nave, for the purpose of accompanying the oratorios, remaining there until the early 'sixties, when it was superseded by a new instrument from the factory of Nicholson at Worcester, and sent to Jesmond Church, Newcastle.[1]

The small organ was built by Father Smith in 1684, during the wardenship of Dr Stratford. It remained in its old place until 1860-63, when it was removed and re-erected in one of the chapels, though never used. Next we hear of its being sent away to a Chapel of Ease in connection with the cathedral, whence it returned and was placed where it now is, in the Derby Chapel on the north side of the choir. Being found in rather a forlorn condition, it was renovated under the direction of Mr J. Kendrick Pyne, the present organist of the cathedral, who succeeded Sir Frederick Bridge on his appointment to Westminster in 1875. The tone of this old "Father Smith," though somewhat attenuated, is of a delightful penetrating and carrying quality. It is used for daily service, when from any cause the large organ is not available. It has one manual and seven stops, and one stop on the pedal.

In Baine's "History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster," published in 1836, is a charming engraving by Challis, from the pencil of Thomas Allom, of the choir of Manchester Cathedral, in which

[1] Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr J. J. Harris, who had been joint organist with William Sudlow since 1831, and sole organist since the death of the latter in 1848. Harris who died in 1869, wrote some pleasing church music, among which may be mentioned the anthem, "The Lord is my strength," composed for the laying of the foundation stone of the new western tower in 1864, and three introits, "Rend your hearts," "O Lord, correct me," and "To the Lord our God," whose devotional character renders them particularly appropriate preludes to the Eucharistic Office. In 1844 Harris put forth a little manual, "The Cathedral Daily Service, consisting of Versicles, Litany, etc., as performed in the Collegiate and Parish Church of Manchester." Mr Harris also wrote several cathedral services, which exist only in MS.

this small organ is shown standing upon the western screen.

The present organ, which stands upon the screen between the nave and the choir in a handsome case from Sir Gilbert Scott's designs, was built in 1871 by Hill, but has since undergone entire reconstruction at the hands of Wadsworth Brothers of Manchester. Nicholson's organ has been removed to a church in Bolton.

In 1857 the writer of an article in the *Ecclesiologist*, entitled "An Ecclesiological Day in Manchester," describes the collegiate church as "stately and interesting," but "sordidly kept and miserably abused."

"The nave," the writer goes on to say, "is pewed and galleried as a parish church, the chancel arch being glazed up to its crown. All honour to the efforts made some years since to improve its arrangements, and to relieve its squalor by some decorative colour.[1] The good work has not been carried on, and looks as if it were fast being undone by neglect and indifference. The choir, full of ancient canopied stalls[2] of great beauty, is dirty and desolate; and its neglected condition is made more apparent by

[1] This refers to some improvements which were carried out at the time the church was raised to cathedral dignity, open seats of oak being substituted for the pews, and a low reading desk, with an eagle for the lessons, replacing the former unseemly one. Polychrome was applied to the roof, and a beginning of painted glass was made.

[2] There are twelve stalls on either side and three returns. The carving of the *misereres* and canopies is almost unequalled of its period, the early part of the sixteenth century. In many respects it may be compared with the slightly earlier work at Beverley and Ripon. A peculiar feature of the Manchester stall work is the cornice, with its fringe work of cusped arches that is carried completely round the choir above the canopies. The roof is rich and beautiful, and the eagles which rise from the junction of the shafts with the beams, in lieu of angels, indicate the connection of James Stanley—who became Warden in 1481, and afterwards Bishop of Ely—with this part of the work.

CHOIR LOOKING WEST.

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the contrast of an unwieldy new throne set up on the south side by—as we understood—Mr Holden, the cathedral surveyor. Never was there a more incongruous or tasteless addition to an ancient choir. Forgetful of the spiry glory of the Exeter throne, the designer has here obtruded a dumpy, heavy, and ungainly composition; the *motif* of which is utterly out of harmony with the adjacent stalls, and in which the ornament is gaudy without richness, and the carving more like cast-iron than honest oak.[1] A new glazed stone reredos behind the altar is very little better. The characteristics of the church would have pointed to a wooden altar-screen, and we are tempted to regret the old tapestry reredos. The candlesticks and the ancient credence, relics of the better times of Manchester churchmanship, have been suffered to remain."[2]

It need hardly be said that this description does not hold good now, for the interior of Manchester Cathedral is one of the finest things of its kind, and the services are a model of beauty and decorum.

Between 1864 and 1868 the western tower, with its singular belfry stage, on each side of which is one large window of two compartments enclosing two smaller ones also of two compartments, was rebuilt

[1] This is, I venture to think, a somewhat too severe criticism.

[2] It represented the story of Ananias and Sapphira, and appears in views of the choir published before 1850. It is now placed against the eastern wall of the Jesus Chapel Library.

In the "Notices and Answers to Correspondents," in the *Ecclesiologist* for 1848, the following paragraph occurs:—"We were struck by observing that the custom of turning to the east at the *Gloria Patri* is preserved in Manchester Cathedral." This pious and venerable usage is happily still retained. Another interesting custom is yet kept up. From Christmas to Epiphany the two beautiful old candelabra, suspended from the arches opening into the procession path behind the high altar, are furnished with tapers, which are lighted during service time. Formerly these were kept burning all day during Christmastide.

under the direction of Mr Holden alluded to above,[1] and following on the institution of Dr Cowie[2] to the Deanery in 1873, a series of ameliorations began which have resulted in the present grandiose aspect of the pile.

For the greater part of these works the architect responsible was the late Mr J. S. Crowther, whose knowledge of the cathedral dated from 1840, when, as articled pupil to Mr Tattersall, a well-known Manchester architect of that day, he had ample opportunity for studying its architectural history.

Mr Crowther's name first came prominently before the public in connection with that delightful contribution to English ecclesiology, "The Churches of the Middle Ages," a work which he undertook in conjunction with Mr Henry Bowman. One of his earliest churches, St Mary, Moss Lane, Hulme, built by Mr Wilbraham Egerton of Tatton, and consecrated by Bishop Prince Lee in 1858, was very favourably referred to shortly before its completion in the *Ecclesiologist*, as "a thorough town church of unusually large dimensions," and with an interior whose effect is "truly magnificent."[3] The well-known church of St Alban, Waterloo Road, Cheetham, opened in 1865, is also a good specimen of Mr Crowther's ability, but his most important original work was the rebuilding of the parish church at Bury. Completed in 1876, it was always regarded by Bishop Fraser as "the gem of the diocese."

[1] The present tower is not a copy of its predecessor, although it reproduces many of its features.

[2] Before his appointment to the Deanery of Manchester, Dr Cowie was Rector of St Laurence, Gresham Street, London, also holding a minor canonry at St Paul's.

[3] During a recent visit to Manchester I made a special effort to see St Mary's, and was much struck with the grandeur and nobility of its design. The interior of this church, and that of the Roman Catholic cathedral at Salford, built ten years earlier from the designs of Hadfield, are, next to that of the collegiate church, the most solemn in Manchester.

St Benedict's, Ardwick, erected by the late Alderman J. Marsland Bennett, and consecrated in 1880, is likewise praiseworthy.

Among Mr Crowther's restorations of ancient buildings the chief place must be assigned to the subject of this chapter, a work of which he saw the completion just on the eve of his death in 1893. It may be said to be the crowning act of this architect's busy and active life, not merely because it was his last, but because it is by far the most important undertaking on which he was engaged.

Not only was Mr Crowther an accomplished architect, he was, like his great contemporaries, Butterfield and Street, a staunch High Churchman, and with his friend, Mr Edward Herford, was a strong supporter of the Free and Open Church Movement at a period when it was less powerful than now.

Mr Crowther's most important work in connection with Manchester Cathedral was the reconstruction of the nave arcades and clerestories. This was successfully accomplished between 1872 and 1874, and now the graceful pillars, the four-centred arches with their richly ornamented spandrels, and the continuous range of clerestory windows, stand forth in all the pristine beauty of their rose-coloured sandstone material.

Stained glass has been lavishly inserted, but, although by various hands, is much more uniform in *ensemble* than is commonly the case. The naturally solemn character of the interior is increased by the carbon which the city smoke has deposited upon the outside of the glass, necessitating the use of artificial light all day during the winter months.

If, however, the visitor should find the great west door open, revealing the richly panelled sides and fan-traceried groining of the tower, he will be fortunate.

The several views across the church are remark-

ably fine, due to its great breadth, and the graceful succession of Perpendicular arcades; but the most striking is that looking east from the imposing flight of steps within the tower. The view through the noble choir arch which rises to the full height of the nave, broken by the sumptuous screen, is closed by the reredos, with its sculptured figures of the Majesty and the three patron saints, and its paintings in low relief representing the Preface to the Sanctus in the Eucharistic Office. It was designed by Mr Basil Champneys, architect of that fine Perpendicular pile, the Rylands Library.

A little chapel at the south-east angle of the choir contains the monument of Bishop Fraser, "a man of great intellectual power, and kindly manners, and who won the respect, not only of churchmen, but of members of all denominations, especially of the mill-hands of his populous diocese." He presided over the See from 1870 to 1885, and was buried, not amid the busy hum of his great city, but in the peaceful churchyard of Ufton Nervet, in Berkshire, of which he had once been rector. The inscription on his monument in the cathedral was from the pen of a kindred spirit, Dr Vaughan, Dean of Llandaff.

Allusion has been made to several organists at Manchester Cathedral. From 1767 to 1782 the post was filled by the Wainwrights, father and two sons, of whom the former, John, was the composer of the well-known tune to the Christmas hymn, "Christians, awake, salute the happy morn."

It was during the joint organistships of William Sudlow and Joseph John Harris that, at the Manchester Musical Festival of September 1836, the short, brilliant career of Madame Malibran came to an end. As the result of an accident—a fall from her horse—she was very weak, but insisted on fulfilling her engagement at the Festival, which was partly held in the Collegiate Church. On the Monday after her arrival she had sung in no less than fourteen pieces,

and, although much exhausted, insisted on singing both in the morning and evening of the following day. On Wednesday, the 14th, her state was critical, but she contrived to sing the last sacred music in which she ever took part, "Sing ye to the Lord," from Handel's *Israel*, with thrilling effect in the cathedral. But that same night her last notes in public were heard in the duet with Madame Caradori Allan, "Vanne se alberghi in petto," from "Andronico." This was received with immense enthusiasm; the last movement was encored, and Malibran actually accomplished the task of repeating it. It was her last effort. While the concert-room was ringing with applause, she was fainting in the arms of her friends, and a few moments later she was carried to that bed from which she never rose. She died a little before midnight on 23rd September, and on 1st October was buried in the south choir-aisle of Manchester Cathedral,[1] but her remains were afterwards removed to the cemetery of Laeken, near Brussels.

TRURO

At the outset of a long and interesting article on Cologne Cathedral in the *Quarterly Review* for October 1846, the writer observes: "It is a painful reflection, and one that conjures up a multitude of others, that a great cathedral can never again be built in this country." But it has come to pass,

[1] In the possession of Mr John S. Bumpus is a very rare engraving of the funeral of Malibran in Manchester Cathedral.

that, within little more than half a century of the penning of these words, not only have three stately cathedrals[1] for the Anglo-Catholic communion been begun, in all essentials completed, and most sumptuously furnished, but the naves of two others[2] have been reconstructed, while a fourth cathedral of gigantic dimensions is making steady progress at Liverpool. Surely these are sufficient indications, if any were needed, of the energy and activity of the English branch of the Church Catholic, since the recovery of much of her former splendour, after her long sleep during the Georgian era.

It has, however, been given to Cornwall to take its part in building and offering the first new foundation of a minster since the times of our Norman forefathers. It has been given to the "land of saints" to raise a beautiful and deeply interesting fabric in a much shorter time than, so far as is known, any other of our provincial cathedrals has occupied in building. For, on 20th May 1880, only three years after the episcopal throne had been set up in the typical Cornish Perpendicular church of St Mary, was the foundation stone laid by the King, when Prince of Wales. The choir and transepts were completed and consecrated on 3rd November 1887; and on St Swithin's Day, 15th July 1903, which happened to be the day following the anniversary of the birth of Archbishop Benson, the benediction of the nave took place with an imposing ceremonial, and in the presence of an immense concourse of bishops, clergy, and laity, drawn from all parts of the British Isles.

Truro Cathedral may be accepted as a remarkable representation of the ambitions and faculties of nineteenth-century architecture, and as possessing an expression of culture, blended with no little inventiveness of design. Perhaps its architect missed a grand

[1] Truro, Edinburgh, and Cork.
[2] Bristol and Southwark.

opportunity when he abandoned the rough-dressed granite of the county and in which it is so abundant, for what has been styled "the cheese-cut Bath stone of commerce," suitable enough for the somewhat enervating atmosphere of the city of warm baths, but alien to the rugged sea-blown diocese of Cornwall. The newness of the masonry appears to be a drawback to those who believe, they know not exactly how or why, that for a building to be a cathedral it must be ancient. Truro will, of course, in time assume the characteristics of age.

Cornwall's cathedral is undoubtedly the *magnum opus* of its architect, the late John Loughborough Pearson, R.A., and for grace, religiousness, and simplicity, is in every way worthy of its purpose.

Mr Pearson leaped into fame a little over fifty years ago by his church of the Holy Trinity in Bessboro' Gardens, near Vauxhall Bridge. This structure not only had the honour of a royal visit, but was frequently inspected and admired during his latter days by Augustus Welby Pugin, while two of the greatest architectural authorities of the day, Sir Gilbert Scott and M. Didron, concurred in selecting it as the best example of an early fourteenth-century church that the Gothic movement had, up to that time, produced. Pearson's next church, St Peter's, Vauxhall—only a few minutes' walk from the one just alluded to—was begun ten years later; but in the interim a great change had come over the spirit of our ecclesiastical architecture. Hitherto, architects had confined themselves to the study of English examples; now the writings of Ruskin, and the competition, open to all Europe, for erecting a new cathedral at Lille, sent the current of popular taste rushing towards Northern Italy and France.

Among those thus affected was Pearson, who, in his noble brick-vaulted church of St Peter, built, between 1861 and 1864, on the site of part of Vauxhall Gardens, completely revolted from English

mediæval precedent. Subsequently, however, in common with many other practitioners, Pearson retraced his steps, and became more strictly insular in his tastes; and although such works as St John's, Red Lion Square, St Augustine's, Kilburn, St Alban's, Birmingham, and St Agnes', Liverpool, are thoroughly English in detail, they are, at the same time, bold endeavours to shake off the trammels of that antiquarian precedent which had so long fettered the progress of the Revival. In none of them do we perceive any idea to create a new style—that were impossible—but a development of a previous style. Pearson, like Butterfield, modified English Gothic after his own fashion, but in his hands, and perhaps from his reconversion to its more characteristic features, its tracery, its mouldings, and its woodwork, it never lost its nationality.

The style chosen by Pearson for Truro Cathedral was the Early English of the first half of the thirteenth century, as exemplified in the transepts of York, the nave of Lincoln, and the choir of Worcester, and, as regards dimensions, compares very favourably with such cathedrals as Ripon, Rochester, and Southwell. Its extreme length from east to west is about 300 feet; its greatest breadth, *i.e.* at the transept, is 110 feet; to the ridge-rib of the vaulting its height is 70 feet; the central tower and spire reach an altitude of 250 feet, and the area covered by the building is about 23,000 feet square.

As at St John's, Red Lion Square, Pearson had to contend with an awkward site, but the manner in which he accomplished this task, incorporating as he did the south aisle of the old Perpendicular church of St Mary, is entitled to the highest admiration. One of the grandest views of the cathedral, in which this mediæval fragment appears, is from one of the narrow streets to the south-east, above whose houses the building towers with a grandeur quite Continental.

The plan embraces a square-ended choir of seven bays, with aisles extending to its extreme length; a central tower; transepts, of which the northern is the longer; and a nave of nine bays, inclusive of that occupied by the western towers. The choir is broken towards its east end by lesser transepts, which, although hardly projecting beyond the line of the aisles, break up the outline of the long eastern limb very effectively, rising as they do to its full height; while adjacent to the great northern transept, another transept has been built out for the reception of the organ. The Perpendicular south aisle of the old church is co-extensive with the choir, as far as the eastern wall of the lesser[1] transept, and is separated from the south aisle of the choir by a very narrow one. Attached to the western aisle of the south transept is a semicircular baptistery—one of the gems of the cathedral—and on the north side provision has been made for a cloister and Chapter-house. The former will be an irregular trapezium in plan, entered from the cathedral by doors at the west end of the north aisle of the nave, and at the north end of the eastern aisle of the transept. The Chapter-house, which is to be an octagon, will be approached from the eastern walk of the cloister. The chief entrances to the cathedral are by a triple porch in the centre of the south transept, rich in sculptured imagery, and by a double one at the west end. There is also a south porch in the first bay of the nave. In the upper parts of the church the windows are arranged in pairs between the buttresses, and are composed of two rather wide lancets beneath a pointed arch, with the tympanum pierced by a quatrefoil. In the aisles are lancets, also arranged in pairs as at York, Salisbury, and Southwell. The transepts have each a noble rose window, the tracery

[1] A provincial newspaper scribbler has taken me to task for speaking of these transepts as "eastern," so in deference to so eminent an authority I have called them "lesser." In this instance the great Church of St Quentin in Picardy seems to have been Pearson's model.

in the southern one resembling "the marigold" window in the south transept of York, while that in the opposite transept is more developed. Below the great southern rose are three plain lancets, while the northern one surmounts three windows composed of a pair of lancets, with a cinquefoil above.

The grand western rose window is recessed within an arch, as at St Augustine's, Kilburn, and St Alban's, Birmingham. The lesser south transept is lighted by a large window composed of four equal lancets surmounted by a rose; the east end has two tiers of three lancets, and the lesser north transept two long windows of two lights crossed at about mid-height by a quatrefoiled transom.

The grandly proportioned central tower rises above the roofs in two stages relieved by a triplet of two light windows on either side. It is crowned by an arcaded parapet, and a not very lofty, unbanded spire, which, with its squinches and basement pinnacles, recalls that of Oxford Cathedral as its prototype. The western towers, hereafter to receive elongated belfry stages and spires similar in character to, though more *élancé* than, the central one, only rise at present to the height of the clerestory. Their intended height is 200 feet. A graceful campanile terminating in a square spire flanks the south transept on its eastern side.

On entering the cathedral by the great western doorway, the eye is at once caught by that grandeur arising from simplicity which permeates the whole design, travelling along the grand length of nearly 300 feet, until it rests upon the glorious wall of stained glass at the east end. The only break at present in the long vista is afforded by the—to a severe criticism—somewhat too horizontal stone reredos, a truly magnificent piece of sculpture from the chisel of Mr Hitch.

Placed so as to leave one bay behind it as a *via processionûm*, this reredos has, for its general

THE CHOIR LOOKING EAST

TRURO CATHEDRAL

idea, "the one great Sacrifice of Our Blessed Lord, made with blood-shedding on the Cross represented in the Crucifixion immediately above the altar, and as pleaded continually in Heaven, represented in 'The Majesty,' which fills the upper part of its central portion; whilst on either side are typical subjects of the older Covenant, representing the great foreshadowing of Sacrifice for sin, of the Gift of Life, of Communion with God, and of self-oblation."

The general type of column used at Truro is the cylinder with slender shafts at its cardinal points. Carved foliage in the capitals is everywhere conspicuous by its absence. In the nave and in the eastern part of the choir, the vaulting shafts are brought down to the floor; in the western part of the latter they are corbelled off a little way down the face of the column. Throughout the church the triforium is a noble feature, being composed of four equal arcades on slender pillarets beneath a containing arch, with the tympanum either pierced with a quatrefoil or relieved with some foliaged ornament. The inner plane of tracery to the clerestory windows is a most graceful feature, as is the architect's very original treatment of his aisles, each pair of lancets being spanned by an arcade springing from a shaft detached at some distance from the wall, and continued down to the stone bench table below the windows. Nor must mention be omitted of the stone galleries, which rise to the height of the arcades, in front of the west and great transept windows, for which precedent exists at Winchester, Lincoln and Laon.

Want of space precludes me from dwelling in detail upon all the sumptuous *instrumenta* of this lovely "revivified Early English" building. The stained glass with which a very large number of the windows have been equipped, carried out on one well-digested scheme of iconography; the pulpit, font, lectern, and choir-stalls; the episcopal throne and sedilia; the altar

frontals of costliest and most beautiful workmanship; the ornaments of the altar and the Eucharistic plate; all these have been provided by the generosity of that "alienated laity" of whom we hear so much from the platform spouter and the newspaper scribbler nowadays.

In this pleasure-seeking age, men and women have given nobly and generously to rear a temple which has evoked all the noblest energies of the architect, sculptor, painter, artificer in stone, wood, and metal work, and painted glass; the delicate skill of the embroiderer, and of the worker in fair linen.

No motley collection of ill-assorted plagiarisms is Truro Cathedral, but a positive creation, a real thing, which may be said to be like nothing else, and yet like everything else in Christian art.

CHAPTER IX

SOUTHWELL—NEWCASTLE—WAKEFIELD—LIVERPOOL—BIRMINGHAM AND SOUTHWARK

"I have spent at Southwell some of the happiest days of a tolerably happy life."—JOHN PEACE, "An Apology for Cathedral Service."

TO those in seach of "fair, quiet and sweet rest," I would say, "Go to Southwell," where the solemn bell of the cathedral, breaking each hour upon the ear with sudden and sullen roar, alone disturbs the stillness of the pretty pastoral country in which the old Norman towers lie embedded and asleep.

"The Saracen's Head," opposite the western gate of the precincts, is a delightful old hostelry. Choral service is performed twice daily in the cathedral; and within easy reach are queenly Lincoln, and the great Perpendicular churches of Newark and Nottingham.

Among the subjects for architectural study that are to be found in this country, none are of greater value than her cathedral and abbey churches. The former have descended to us in a remarkable state of preservation, but the latter, no especial object having been found for their employment since they lost their original use, are in a greater or less state of decay, excepting a few which have been

continued as collegiate, or have been wholly kept up as parochial churches. Into this latter category falls the subject of our present sketch.

When little more than a century ago it was decided to plant a bishop's seat in Nottinghamshire, although the claims of the great church of St Mary in the county town were eagerly, and no doubt justly, pressed as a recipient of that honour, it was felt that no English church of the second class could have been more easily adapted to the purpose than Southwell Minster, under which long familiar title it still continues to be known.

During Dr Jackson's tenure of the bishopric of Lincoln (1853-68) the need of a new diocese was frequently on the *tapis*. This idea took definite shape during the episcopate of his successor, Dr Wordsworth, who not only parted with a portion of his income as bishop, but was the most munificent subscriber to the fund; and it is due to him that quiet little Southwell had the preference as the See town over the ever-growing Nottingham.

It is worthy of remark that so long ago as 1847, during Bishop Kaye's time, Lord John Russell suggested three new bishoprics (in addition to Manchester) — viz., Southwell, Bodmin, and Westminster.

Southwell Minster is eminently "cathedralic," possessing all the parts essential to a bishop's church, to say nothing of the manner in which it so delightfully blends the several epochs of Gothic. Southwell Cathedral is one of the most striking and attractive examples of this treatment we possess. Here all is gained that variety of architecture can possibly bestow. The massive Early Norman of its triple towers, nave, and transepts; the simple but beautiful Early English of its choir; the Early and Late Decorated of its Chapter-house and choir-screen; and the Perpendicular of several of its windows, are all so perfect in themselves, and are so placed

that they in no way interfere with or distract one another, but rather suggest, as such variety always ought to suggest, the long history of the building, and the changes in its life and fortunes.

The statement that a church, collegiate as well as parochial, was founded on the site by St Paulinus in the seventh century must be accepted with caution, but it may with perfect safety be asserted that the establishment at Southwell was of pre-Conquest origin, it being known that at that time the church possessed ten prebends, and, at the end of the thirteenth century, sixteen.

A collegiate church was an auxiliary to a cathedral, and having several able men on its foundation, must often have been a centre where counsel was to be obtained without the necessity of a long and toilsome journey to the cathedral. It is known that on one occasion the Archbishop of York announced that the duty of the annual visitation could be performed by the people of Nottinghamshire through a visit to Southwell, equally well as by a visit to York. Such a concession is evidence of the importance which was recognised as belonging to the collegiate church.

Southwell Minster does not appear to have been the scene of any remarkable event. It contained no wonder-working shrine like Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Rochester, or Worcester; yet from the fact that the collegiate body was enabled to rebuild a very considerable portion of their Romanesque church on its present noble scale early in the thirteenth century, is not only a proof of the fact that it was wealthy, but of the power of the secular clergy and of the sympathy with them of the laity of the surrounding district. It is easy to believe that the minster was destined at some time or another to contain an episcopal throne.

In 1540, after an existence of at least seven hundred years, the collegiate body surrendered its

property to Henry VIII., the appetite of that royal wild beast having been whetted by the suppression of the lesser monasteries begun by Wolsey and completed by Cromwell in 1536.

The severity and insolence of the commissioners sent to carry out the Act of 1536 had spread panic among religious establishments of every grade throughout the kingdom, and it was this fear that dictated to the prebendaries of Southwell the advisability of anticipating further robbery by surrendering the college to the king of their own accord. The next year, however, saw Southwell Church refounded and re-endowed at the request of Archbishop Cranmer, himself a Nottinghamshire man, and it was named among the fifteen bishoprics which, as a salve to his conscience, Henry had proposed to erect out of the proceeds of the plunder; but though Dr Cox, tutor to Prince Edward, and Dean of Cardinal College, Oxford, was nominated to fill it, the bishopric seems never to have been endowed.

Under Edward VI. the collegiate body was dissolved, but re-established under Mary; and in 1586 Elizabeth granted statutes, interesting as being the basis of the system of internal organisation, which prevailed until the college ceased to exist on the passing of the Cathedral Act of 1840. But even in the coldest times the double daily choral service has never been interrupted.

Until the refoundation of the See of Ripon in 1836, that and Southwell were the only churches existing in the combined capacity of collegiate and parochial, all the others having been dissolved by Henry VIII. or his successors.

Situated in a quiet little North Midlandshire town, Southwell Cathedral had an uneventful history until 1884, when the late Dr Ridding was enthroned in it as first bishop.

Its interest, therefore, centres in the several truly

noble and typical specimens of architecture that its several parts display, and in its musical associations. When Bishop Warburton was engaged in composing his notes to Pope's epistles, and had occasion to treat on ancient architecture, he came to Southwell expressly for the purpose of viewing the Norman, or, as it was in those days styled, Saxon, church, it having been represented to him as the purest specimen of its age in existence.

To this character the early twelfth-century nave, the towers and the transepts, justly lay claim; indeed, few churches of its age have so admirably survived the damage to which it has been exposed, and little material injury has been received by

> "Those aisles through which a thousand years
> Mutely as clouds and reverently have swept."

Southwell is, moreover, remarkable as one of the few early churches in England which retain their three great towers, whose grouping before the reconstruction of the square western spires, about twenty-five years ago, was as perfect as it could be. These spires are not very sightly objects, but there was precedent for their re-erection. They appear in the sketch taken by Hollar in 1672, and published in the following year with the first volume of Dugdale's "Monasticon," and shortly afterwards in Thornton's "History of Nottinghamshire." On 5th November 1711 the spires were destroyed, together with the bells,[1] by a violent storm attended by thunder and lightning. They were restored, but in 1802 were removed in consequence of a rift appearing in the lower part of the north-western tower, it being thought that they endangered the safety of the

[1] The present peal of bells was cast in 1721 by Ruddall of Gloucester, the inscription on two of them breathing the mediæval spirit, viz. the 5th, which is inscribed, "From lightning and tempest, Good Lord, deliver us"; and the 8th, "I to the church the Living call, and to the Grave do summon all."

substructure; but the fear was groundless, as the towers would have carried twice the weight.

These spires as they existed before 1802 are shown in the original drawing by Turner or Girtin, slightly and delicately tinted in Indian ink, overlapping the towers a little. During the 'forties of the last century, Archdeacon Wilkins, who paid much attention to the architecture of the minster, had these towers capped by pinnacles from the designs of Railton, the architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.[1]

The works also included the reconversion of some windows that had been Perpendicularised, to their Norman form. An excrescence, called Archbishop Booth's Chapel, had been removed from the first two bays of the nave on the south in 1784.

Viewed from the north-west corner of the burial-ground, the grouping of the several Norman portions is unusually grand, an almost Rhenish character being imparted to it by the straight lines of the towers, the flat buttresses, and the plain circular windows of the clerestory.

The porch which projects from the third bay is of unusually noble dimensions, and in richness and profuseness of ornamentation is perhaps only surpassed by that at Malmesbury.

Within the gable, upon which two small circular pinnacled turrets are perched, are three round-headed windows, whose outer arches are supported on pillarets, while their inner ones are composed of a continuous rich and deep zigzag moulding. The grand outer arch of the porch itself rises from two attached shafts, and the sides of the interior have an arcade of interlacing arches. The roof is a simple barrel-vaulted one without ribs. Six orders of the inner door, with their mouldings of varied form, rise from five slender shafts, the innermost having two orders of continuous zigzag. There is another but porchless door of equal

[1] Drawings of the minster, published between 1802 and 1880, show the western towers with very low pyramidal cappings.

SOUTHWELL CATHEDRAL

FROM THE NORTH EAST

richness at the end of the south transept, in which the zigzag or chevron has been so liberally employed that the moulding becomes a constructive rather than a decorative feature. As a writer has poetically observed:

"It seems as though the composition had been inspired by the devouring mouth of one of the mythical sea monsters which are so often introduced in the northern 'Sagas.' Looking at this doorway, and those of Iffley and Clymping, we can understand why the old Icelandic code obliged shipmasters when nearing the island to remove the figure-heads from their vessels, in order that the good genii and fairies should not be scared by the gaping jaws of the carven monsters. The doorways in churches of a later period, which compelled people to bend low before entering, could hardly be more symbolic of the necessity of a humble spirit than this grim south transeptal portal of Southwell Cathedral. The man who designed it must have had a gloomy mind, and we suppose he rarely entered a church with joy. If we remember these transepts were erected between 1110 and 1114, there would be many things occurring at that period which would make men serious."

Be this as it may, these doorways undoubtedly prepare the mind for the awful solemnity of Southwell's nave and transepts. The former has eight bays (including that opening into each western tower) of circular arches on sturdy cylindrical pillars 19 feet high by 4½ feet in thickness. The triforium has a series of arches corresponding in width with those below, and springing from three short attached shafts. There is no central pillar or arcade as at Ely and Peterborough, nor do the triforia become practical galleries lighted from without as in the three great East Anglian minsters. At Southwell they are merely formed by the roof sloping from the aisle to the clerestory, whose simple circular

windows are seen through arches on short attached single pillarets. There is not a trace of a vaulting shaft from one end of the nave to the other; a grand Doric simplicity characterises the whole.

The original roof was destroyed by the storm and fire of 1711, and was replaced by a low, flat ceiling divided into large, lozenge-shaped panels, leaving very little wall space above the grand western arch of the central tower, and appearing to cut off the top of the great Perpendicular west window when viewed from the crossing. Between the western towers the low roof gave place to a species of lantern so contrived that no part of the window should be hidden, and in its way was a curiosity. Modern research has proved that the original Norman roof rose higher, and when the church was restored about 1875 an outcry was raised at Mr Christian's introduction of the present cradle-shaped roof of open timber, with rather heavy tie beams, which just clears the west window. It must be conceded that this roof is a vast improvement in many ways, particularly that by which it relieves the nave of some of that over-sombre character it formerly possessed.

Roofs of a similar character have been placed over the transepts, whose ends are divided in three storeys corresponding to those of the nave. The uppermost storey is lighted by two plain circles, and the two lower ones by a pair of rather large round-headed windows apiece. In front of the windows in the ground storey are two arches rising from a slender pillar, an idea borrowed, perhaps, from Cerisy le Forêt. They, however, support nothing, being introduced merely as an enrichment in the thickness of the wall. At Ely and Winchester, where these arcades occupy a similar position, they support a gallery affording communication between the eastern and western triforia of the transepts.

In 1794 a new library was built against the south wall of the choir-aisle running east from the

transept. This was removed in 1825, and the walls and windows restored. Very grand are the four great arches supporting the central lantern. The piers of the eastern and western tower arches are clustered, while those opening into the transepts are semicircular. Since the removal of the flat ceiling above these arches, the general appearance of the crossing has been marvellously improved.

Beneath the eastern arch and occupying the whole of the first choir bay is a very high and deep rood-loft, dating from between 1335 and 1340. This magnificent addition to the church, upon whose merits panegyric might be exhausted, resembles its graceful contemporary at Exeter in one respect, in that it has three open arches towards the nave rising from slender attached shafts, surmounted by richly crocketed and finialled gables.

The groining beneath the loft is constructed in a peculiar manner, there being no spandrels to the ribs, which are left to seek their pointed flight independent of any such seeming assistance, on that system of "interpenetration" which was more common with the Later Gothic architects of Germany than with our own of the same period.[1] In the front next the choir the design is no less beautiful, the spaces on either side of the entrance being divided into three parts each, and into two storeys. The lower storey contains three arcades serving as stalls for the dignitaries; the upper form galleries with two open and two closed compartments with flowing tracery under triangular headed arcades. The minutiæ of mouldings and ornaments are delicate and rich to excess, particularly the diaper work behind the first stall to the left on entering,[2] every square being differently treated—a most rare piece of refinement.

[1] A striking example of this treatment is presented by the great church at Zwickau in Saxony.

[2] In olden times this stall was assigned to the Archbishop of York.

When in 1770 the old choral arrangements were disturbed at Ely under James Essex, no one intervened to avert his purpose; and when still later the sacrilegious hand of Wyatt was laid upon Salisbury, Lichfield, and Durham, the public took little or no interest in the preservation of those churches from spoliation. Sir Henry Englefield, Milner, Gough, and Carter wrote in vain—at least, it was not till Salisbury and Lichfield were irretreviably mutilated, and the "rearrangement" of Durham commenced, that the warning voice of John Carter, conveyed to the public through the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, was listened to, and the work of destruction stopped before the mischievous plans of Wyatt were more than half accomplished. John Carter visited Southwell in 1806, and was so enraptured with this screen that he tells us he "even forgot and neglected the principal parts of the interior itself." Moreover, he styles it "the pride of that meridian hour of art," the fourteenth century, and with recollections of Wyatt's vandalisms at Lichfield and Salisbury, concludes his description thus:

"Ye despoilers of Edward's architectural glories, if ever you chance to stumble on this refulgent piece of workmanship, be tender, be merciful; and as some retribution for strokes already inflicted, touch with a gentle hand, your eyes blessed with a new sight, this trembling remains; and should you (which science by her protection permit) see aright, have pity on its matchless properties, and let it still endure. An age to come expects it, therefore, once more have mercy!"

Carter could hardly have anticipated that about seventy years after he published this appeal, this screen was to become the subject of a battle between church dignitaries, restorers, and others, one party being anxious for its retention, and another as desirous for its removal. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the details of the controversy, which may be read in

the architectural journals of the time (1876). It is sufficient to say that the screen was allowed to retain its position without being meddled with in any way, the only matter of deep regret being the subsequent removal of a charming old Renaissance organ-case, and the substitution of as wretched a piece of work as was ever perpetrated in the most rabid days of mid-Victorian vandalism.

There is much of local interest in the musical associations of Southwell. Notwithstanding the remote situation of the place, the services of the minster have always been held in good repute, and never have they been suffered to fall into abeyance — not even during the darkest days of the later Georgian epoch. If the truth must be told, they are conducted with reference rather to the grandeur of the building and its lofty purposes, than to the number of the people generally assembled at them: "Ad majorem Dei gloriam," in fact.

Until the endowments were suppressed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1840, the prebendaries — there was no dean — numbered sixteen. There were six vicars choral or minor canons, six singing men, and a dozen choristers.[1] The choir endowments seem to have been respected, the two daily services being still celebrated in the full cathedral manner.

The last Minor Canon, the Rev. R. F. Smith, a sound practical church musician appointed in 1863, died in 1905.

The statutes of Queen Elizabeth (1585) required the appointment of a *Magister Choristarum* or *Rector Chori*, one of whose duties was to act as organist.

William Lee, whose name is preserved in choral

[1] When Miss Maria Hackett, "the choristers' friend," visited Southwell in 1863, she was presented with a pencil drawing of "a Southwell choir boy out of his surplice." This interesting souvenir is now in the collection of Mr John S. Bumpus.

annals by two or three single chants, was organist from 1718 until his death in 1754. He was buried in the south transept near his predecessor, William Popely. Edmund Ayrton, a member of a notable family of Ripon musicians, was the next organist, holding the post until 1764, when he went to London on his appointment as one of the Vicars Choral of St Paul's. In 1780 he added to his duties those of Lay Vicar of Westminster Abbey and Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. He was the composer of two complete services in C major and E flat, and an anthem with orchestral accompaniments—"Begin unto my God with timbrels"—originally written as the exercise for his degree of Doctor in Music at Cambridge, and subsequently sung at St Paul's 29th July 1784, being the day of general thanksgiving for the Peace of Paris. He died 22nd May 1808 at James Street, Buckingham Gate, Westminster—a large house with a garden of three acres, but which had the reputation of being haunted, so that he occupied it at a very low rental. The ten children of the Chapel Royal were boarded with him in this house.

Thomas Spofforth, the uncle and musical instructor of Reginald Spofforth, the distinguished glee writer, and of Samuel Spofforth, for fifty-six years organist of Lichfield Cathedral, held the Southwell organistship from 1764 until his resignation in 1818. He died in 1826, leaving several benefactions to the minster. John Spray, afterwards the famous tenor in the Dublin cathedrals during the early years of the last century, was a Southwell chorister under Spofforth.

The next organist, Edward Heathcote, was a musician of considerable talent. He died at an early age in 1835. Of the state of music at Southwell during his organistship, we are able to glean some particulars from "Music and Friends," the amusing and gossipy, but sadly inaccurate, work of

William Gardiner, the well-known Leicester amateur. The Rev. George Hutchinson, one of the Prebendaries, with whom Gardiner spent a week in 1818, was a good performer on the violin, viola, pianoforte and organ, his style upon the last named being "quite German." That is to say, he used the pedals, which few English organists at that time ever thought of doing. At the Residence there were frequent quartette parties and concerts, to which the *élite* of the place were invited.

The first violin appears to have been Captain William Marsh, of the Navy, who, says Gardiner, "was so deaf that he could not hear any instrument but his own, yet was so steady in his time that we had no difficulty in accompanying him." (!) His brother, the Rev. Edward Marsh, was one of the Prebendaries, while another brother was John Marsh, a well-known amateur composer, astronomer, and man of science, resident successively at Salisbury (1776), Canterbury (1783), and Chichester (1787-1828), where he directed the Subscription Concerts, occasionally officiating as deputy to the organists of those cathedrals. He was a prolific composer of music for the Church and chamber.[1] In the house of the Rev. Edward Becher, Senior Prebendary, and Vicar-General, Samuel Webbe (d. 1816) is said to have composed some of his finest glees.

Two musical Prebendaries of Southwell were the Rev. Edward Gregory (1733-59) and the Rev. Robert Philip Goodenough (1806-26), both of whom are remembered by their excellent chants. The Rev. Charles Fowler, Vicar Choral 1780-1840, was also a practical musician.

[1] A long account of the career of this extraordinary self-taught genius will be found in the "Biographical Dictionary of Musicians," published anonymously in 1824, but well known as the work of the Rev. William Bingley. The two double chants in E and A major, now, and for many years sung at St Paul's Cathedral on the 30th evening of the month, are by the brothers John and William Marsh.

To show the pains taken with their church music by the Southwell authorities, it may be mentioned, that at a Chapter held on 23rd January 1823, it was decreed that the *Rector Chori* be directed to draw up and keep a written account of the services and anthems performed in the church at Morning and Evening Prayer, and report the same at each quarterly Chapter. One such list, extending from 27th March to 28th April 1831, is now in the possession of Mr J. S. Bumpus.[1] Several of Heathcote's compositions figure therein, including two services in A major and B flat, an anthem, "God so loved the world," and a setting of the second hymn in the Ordination Service, "Come, Holy Ghost, Eternal God." John Marsh is also represented by a service in D, and two anthems, "O give thanks," and the Collect for Quinquagesima Sunday. A double chant by Heathcote was published in a collection edited in periodical numbers between 1829 and 1833 by William Hawes of St Paul's and the Chapel Royal.

Charles Noble, a native of Southwell, for many years an esteemed midland counties musician and an able organist, was, for some time, Heathcote's pupil and assistant. He became, in 1831, organist of the magnificent parish church of St Mary, Nottingham, holding the post for thirty-eight years. On his retirement he resided at Southwell, where he died 10th September 1885, and was buried in the minster yard under the shadow of the old cathedral.

Among the more modern organists of Southwell, the name of Herbert Stephen Irons stands prominent. A nephew of Dr Stephen and Sir George Elvey, he was fully endued with their wonderful musical talent

[1] Dr Marsh seems to have attended very assiduously to his duties, a memorandum on the back of this list stating that from 1st February to 31st July 1831, he was "in constant waiting (morning and evening), without the omission of a single day."

and those who remember his renderings on the organ of Handel's airs and choruses will never forget their pathos and grandeur. From 1856 to 1857 Irons was organist of St Columba's College at Rathfarnham, near Dublin, the first public school established upon strictly Church principles in Ireland. Several of our most distinguished church musicians began their careers as organists of this College, notably Dr G. B. Arnold, Dr E. G. Monk, Mr J. Baptiste Calkin, and Mr C. Lee Williams. Irons held the Southwell organistship from 1857 to 1872 when he went to Chester to act as assistant to Frederick Gunton, one of his predecessors at Southwell from 1835 to 1841.[1] His last appointment was to St Andrew's, Nottingham. Here he officiated from 1876 to his death on St Peter's Day 1905. A true, devoted churchman, his spiritual and loving influence will be much and long missed among the worshippers at St Andrew's. Like Dykes of Durham and William Henry Monk of St Matthias', Stoke Newington, it is as a hymn composer that Irons will be longest remembered. His tunes "St Columba" and "Southwell" (composed for *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1860) will be for ever inseparably associated with the hymns "The sun is sinking fast," and "Jerusalem, my happy home."

He was succeeded at Southwell in 1872 by Mr Cedric Bucknall, for some years assistant to Dr W. H. Monk at St Matthias', Stoke Newington, now organist of All Saints' Church, Clifton, exchanging appointments in 1876 with Mr W. W. Ringrose, whose mind gave way shortly after his relinquishment of the post in 1879.

The present organ at Southwell is a fine instrument by Bishop, and it is a thousand pities the Renaissance case could not have been supplemented for its reception.

On 30th April 1861, a great Choral Festival—

[1] *See* chapter on Chester Cathedral, vol. i., p. 256.

the fourth meeting of the choirs of Nottinghamshire —was held in Southwell Minster, its success being mainly due to Irons.

The Morning Service was preceded by a most imposing procession, consisting of no less than four hundred surpliced choristers, lay clerks, and clergy, three bishops bringing up the rear. The canticle, *Benedicite Omnia Opera*, was sung during the procession, in unison, to the short form of the Eighth Tone, First Ending. So long was the procession in making its way up the nave into the choir, that the canticle had to be repeated. At the Morning Service the music was drawn exclusively from the best Gregorian sources, with the exception of the anthem, which was Aldrich's "O give thanks," for six voices, and the introit, the hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden," sung to a melody in G minor (founded on an old German air), by Rev. H. L. (afterwards Bishop) Jenner.

In the afternoon the music was entirely Anglican, the anthem being Gibbons' magnificent "Hosanna." Immediately after the conclusion of evensong the whole of the choirs proceeded in an orderly manner to the nave, where they formed in double line. A hymn was sung—"We love the place, O God"—to music by Rev. H. L. Jenner, and the Bishop of Oxford then proceeded to deliver a most touching and appropriate address which was not easily forgotten by the thousands assembled in the solemn old minster.

Concerning this festival the following interesting entry occurs in the diary of Bishop Wilberforce:

"*April* 30.—Riseholme.[1] Off at 7.25. Rode with Sir C. Anderson to Lincoln station. Rail to Southwell, where breakfast at Archdeacon Wilkins'. All very hearty. Fine service. I preached afternoon

[1] The residence of the Bishop of Lincoln, at that time Dr Jackson, afterwards Bishop of London.

in nave: vast congregation. Derby man seizing hand as I came out of pulpit. Home by train to Riseholme; a few letters."

"The man referred to in the above entry," Dr Wilberforce's biographer tells us, "came to Archdeacon Wilkins before the service, and said he wished to speak to the Bishop. The Archdeacon assured the man that such a thing was impossible, and that he could not manage it. Nothing daunted, the man took his seat on the steps of the pulpit, and as the Bishop came down, he got up, seized the Bishop's hand, and, after thanking him for the sermon, said: 'Now, my Lord, I am the representative of 2000 working men at Derby, and I am deputed by them to ask your Lordship to come and preach to us.' The Bishop: 'What do you want me to preach to you about?' The answer was, 'Religion, my Lord.' The Bishop then assured him that he would try to comply with this request, and would write and let him know."

Dr Wilberforce was as good as his word, for on the 19th of October of the same year, three days before the reopening of Lichfield Cathedral,[1] the Bishop was at Derby, where he preached to 2000 men of the Midland Railway Company; "they were intensely attentive," his diary records.

Passing within the choir-screen the change from the sombreness of the western to the lightness of the eastern arm of the church is most striking.

The Norman choir at Southwell was commensurate in length with the present one as far as the third bay, and, from remains which have been exhumed from time to time, appears to have had a square end, though the aisles terminated in apses, and there was an apse on the eastern side of either transept.

The work of lengthening the choir extended from

[1] *See* page 29.

1233 to 1294, during which period almost every great church in England was undergoing extension in some form or another. Archbishop Walter de Grey, to whom we owe the glorious south transept of York Minster, granted an indulgence to all contributors to the work of rebuilding the choir at Southwell, and there are several later notices in the York Archives proving that the building was going on towards the end of this century. Some of these probably relate to the chapel on the east side of the north transept, now used as a library. This chapel is intermediate in date between the choir and the Chapter-house. The latter is mentioned in 1294, when certain fines are assigned "ad fabricam novi capituli."[1]

This Early English choir at Southwell has evidently caught the northern breath. The influence of Lincoln and Beverley is felt, not only in the almost Doric simplicity of its lancet windows and other details, but in the manner in which the Lady Chapel is included under the same unbroken line of roof. We miss, however, that feature in the external outline, the lesser transept, which imparts such elegance to the above-named minsters.

It is worthy of remark that the low chapel system as pursued in the south and west at Hereford, Winchester, Salisbury, Chichester, Exeter, St Alban's, St David's, and Gloucester rarely found favour among the northern designers, who preferred that uniform elevation as evinced by the Early English choirs of Carlisle, Beverley, Whitby, and Rievaulx, and by the Decorated ones of Lincoln, Ripon, Selby, and York.[2]

At Southwell there are six lofty bays of beautifully

[1] There are transeptal chapels equal only in breadth to one bay of the choir, whose appearance would be vastly improved by the restoration of their roofs gabling from those of the aisles.

[2] The Early English Chester, and the Late Decorated Manchester may be named as exceptions to this rule.

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moulded arches supported on columns composed of a cluster of eight slender shafts with bell-shaped capitals and simple caps. The attached piers or responds to the easternmost arch on either side are alone banded, the remainder having, for the period of their erection, a peculiarity in the shape of a vertical fillet which is most commonly met with in early fourteenth-century work.[1] There is only one storey above the arcade, enriched in each bay by two tall lancets comprising triforium and clerestory. The former is merely a wall receiving the sloping roofs of the aisles; the latter takes the form of two small lancets occupying a considerably less space than the unpierced wall of the quasi-triforium. Evidently it was the wish of the architect in combining the two members of the elevation not to lessen the height and span of the arches in his main arcade, or to build a flat ceiling.

What the mediæval arrangements of the choir at Southwell were it is impossible to say, as in few cathedrals have they more entirely disappeared through the vagaries of modern improvers.

The high altar, which must have originally stood against a screen crossing the church so as to leave one, if not two, bays of the arcade open behind it, was long stationed at the summit of rather a high flight of steps within the two aisleless bays once forming the Lady Chapel. Neither the platform on which the altar stands, nor the steps conducting to it, could have been original, as may be seen from the position of the lovely fourteenth-century sedilia, which were outside the rails, and therefore of no use whatever. Of late years the levels in the sanctuary have been more nicely graduated, and the altar rails so placed that the sedilia fall within them.

In 1851 Mr Christian was commissioned to make a survey of the fabric, and to advise generally as to its repair and furniture, continuing to do so at

[1] It occurs in the Early English at Lichfield.

intervals until 1875. In the early part of the last century the choir and its aisles had been filled with pews and galleries of the most wretched "Gothic" description, and only those who knew this part of the church in its former state could appreciate the enormous gain to the beauty of the interior effected by their removal thirty years ago.

A view of the choir of Southwell, by Thomas Allom, as it appeared before the restorations of 1876, will be found in "Nottinghamshire," one of those serial publications of the Early Victorian era which depended for their success on the excellence of their illustrations rather than on the descriptive letterpress. Allom's artistic ability was very early manifested in these and similar works, and the worth of his illustrations was established, which is saying much when it is remembered he had as competitors such men as Turner, Roberts, Stanfield, Prout and others who raised this kind of art to a point which before was never reached. The majority of Thomas Allom's drawings were engraved by Challis.

Before anything could be settled as to the refitting of the choir, the Bishop of Lincoln (then Dr Wordsworth) consulted Mr Street, who made a report to his Lordship, confirming the advice given by Mr Christian that the plaster backs and canopies to the stalls put up by Bernasconi about 1820 should be removed, and suggesting that they should be replaced by new ones of oak on the *motif* of those that formerly existed, and of which fragments were discovered still remaining *in situ*, besides many loose pieces which had been stored in the roof of the Chapter-house. Mr Street made other suggestions of value and interest as regards the use of the choir and church, but these did not come within the scope of Mr Christian's instructions, which related only to the refitting of the building as a parish church. In its present state the choir of Southwell is imposing, but it can hardly be

called picturesque. The new stalls and subsellæ are of good and pleasing design, but it is to be regretted that their backs and canopies were not placed in an unbroken line in front of, instead of between the arcades, as were Bernasconi's, and just returned round the angle between the jubé and the first pier.

The square east end is lighted by two tiers of four lancets, and is very noble indeed, a quasi-apsidal effect being imparted to it by the manner in which, as at St Cross, Winchester, Glasgow Cathedral, and Graville, near Havre, it is groined from a slender shaft between the two pairs of lancets.[1]

In the four lower lancets some stained glass of the *cinque cento* French school was placed in 1818, by gift of the Nottinghamshire antiquary, Mr Gally Knight, whose "Architectural Tour in Normandy," first published in 1836, and his "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy," which followed in 1844, are still much esteemed by collectors of antiquarian lore. This glass represents the Baptism of Our Lord, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Mocking of Christ. The first subject, considered as a glass painting, is rather poor, being weak in colour and shadow, the whole of the work below the Knees of Our Lord being a modern addition by Miller, who, as a practitioner of some reputation early in the last century, was employed in adapting this glass to a position for which it is quite unsuited. The other three subjects are effective and good, particularly the second, in which, by a skilful management of the background, a striking effect of distance and aerial perspective is produced. The third light as a composition of colour is perhaps the most successful. The four large single figures in the upper tier of lancets date from the rearrangement

[1] The late Mr James Brooks produced a similar effect in the square east end of his fine red brick church of St Columba, Haggerston, finished in 1869.

of the choir in 1876, but the two styles employed in those eight lancets agree but ill.

The eagle in the centre of the choir, "with God's holy worde thereon," was found many years ago in the bed of the lake of Newstead Abbey, where it had evidently been dropped for concealment in troublous times. Within it had been secreted some documents, which the former owners had endeavoured by this singular means to preserve.[1] Rescued from its strange immersion, it was renovated and presented to the minster in 1805 by Sir Richard Kaye, Prebendary of Durham and subsequently of North Muskham, and Dean of Lincoln. Since then it has furnished the model for many modern works, those, for example, in Ely Cathedral and St Mary Magdalene's, Paddington. The total height of the lectern[2] is 6 feet 2 inches; that of the bird 2 feet 1 inch; the spread of the wings is 2 feet 6 inches; and the length from beak to tail (following the curves) is 3 feet.

The octagonal Chapter-house at Southwell, whose groined roof is without the support of a central column, is a gem of which any country might be proud.[3] It is

[1] It bears the following inscription in Latin, "Pray for the soul of Ralph Savage, and for the souls of all faithful deceased." Washington Irving, in his work on Abbotsford and Newstead, gives some interesting particulars relative to the discovery of this lectern, though few readers conversant with pre-Reformation uses will agree with his conjectures about the books it was designed to support.

[2] Of English cathedral lecterns prior to the seventeenth century, Norwich and Peterborough alone present specimens. The brass lectern at Norwich deviates from the accustomed fashion. The figure at the summit represents the pelican in her piety, and round the twisted column which supports this are ranged three statues on a hexagonal base, and separated by slender pinnacles and flying buttresses. It appears to be a late fourteenth-century work, but the figures round the stem of a bishop, a priest, and a deacon are modern additions, and for their date, 1845, very praiseworthy.

[3] "What either Cologne Cathedral or Ratisbon or the Wiesen Kirche at Soest are to Germany, Amiens Cathedral or the Sainte Chapelle are to France, the Scalegere in Verona

approached from the north choir-aisle by a passage, part of which has formed an open cloister alongside of a small court left between the Chapter-house and the north-east aisle of the crossing. The arcades separating it from the open court have slender shafts in pairs, placed well apart and giving a deep voussoir to the arches, the carvings of the capitals being continued as a frieze between the two. Unfortunately this is spoilt by a wall built up between the arcades, and the head of the arch on the outside glazed. This was probably done with the view of excluding draughts at a time when the Chapter-house was in constant use.

The arch leading into the Chapter-house is a most exquisite piece of late thirteenth-century workmanship; the beauty of its proportions and the rich foliage adorning its capitals, fresh as Nature itself, and displaying the most elegant taste and consummate skill, cannot be surpassed. Much of the carving in this part of the cathedral would convey in itself the notion of a later date, for a large proportion of it is as naturalistic as carver could make it. But it is clear that an original genius was at work, who refused to be fettered by conventionalism, and who, by his individuality and love of Nature, anticipated by a considerable period that naturalistic style which was afterwards to develop in English architectural carving, not only in anticipating, but surpassing it beforehand.

On 2nd February 1906, the Bishop of Southwell laid the foundation stone of the new episcopal residence. In deciding to live at Southwell, instead of heretofore at Thurgarton, Dr Hoskyns is perpetuating the historic traditions of the place as an ecclesiastical residence. Archbishop Kemp built a palace there in the middle of the fifteenth century, the ruins of which afford some idea of its early magnificence. The new house has been planned

to Italy, are the choir of Westminster and the Chapter-house at Southwell to England."—G. E. Street.

so as to incorporate the old hall which was restored by Bishop Trollope in 1884, as well as the old palace, now in ruins. In this work it has been found possible for almost every stone to be used, thus greatly enhancing the interest of the building. It speaks well for the excellence of the work of the fifteenth-century masons that in some cases it has been found possible to roof even the existing walls as though they had been but recently constructed.

The form of the old building will not be altered, and the new one is designed on simple lines, so that it will possess a character of its own.

As I write the concluding sentences of this chapter, I hear that the design of a small model of the statue in memory of the first occupant of the See — Dr George Ridding—has been approved by the Restoration Committee.

NEWCASTLE

THE church of St Nicholas at Newcastle was appointed under the Additional Bishoprics Act of 1878 as the cathedral church of the new diocese, and was so first used on the enthronement of Dr Ernest Roland Wilberforce as first bishop on 3rd August 1882.

As a parish church, St Nicholas took rank as the fourth largest in the kingdom, being exceeded only in area by St Michael's, Coventry, St Nicholas', Great Yarmouth, and St Botolph's, Boston; and if deficient in that dignity which the lofty clerestory and the

central tower confer on Bath, Nottingham, and Sherborne, was eminently fitted to receive the *cathedra* of a bishop from its great spaciousness and the length of its eastern limb.

Raised as it was at one period, the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Perpendicular style was pushing out the Decorated, Newcastle Cathedral does not confront us with any architectural problems difficult of solution. It is possible that the foundations of the Norman church promoted in 1091 by St Osmund of Salisbury may still be awaiting exhumation, but at present the only remains of any former structure that have come to light is an Early English shaft and capital, enveloped in the north-eastern pier of the nave.

The plan of St Nicholas[1] embraces a nave of four bays, with clerestory, aisles prolonged to the west front of the tower, and porches; transepts also clerestoried, and projecting well beyond the aisles; and a square-ended choir of four bays, with aisles extending its full length. Attached to the north transept is a chapel dedicated to St George, and below the former is a crypt, 23 feet by 11 feet, having a barrel-vaulted roof with plain chamfered ribs dying into the walls.

Taken as a whole, Newcastle Cathedral looks as such churches in large merchant towns always do look—as if the founders wished to get the greatest possible room out of the least possible money.[2] This

[1] The dedication of Newcastle Cathedral to the Patron of those "who go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters," was in all probability emphasised by the wavy lines cut out all along a stone which once lay at the threshold of the north door. It may be interesting to mention that at Soëst, in Westphalian Prussia, there is a little Romanesque chapel dedicated to St Nicholas, built in the form of a ship's keel, and divided down the middle by arches whose pillars may be taken as representing the masts.

[2] In this respect it may be compared with many of those great brick churches which were being raised almost contem-

is proclaimed chiefly by the arches, which throughout the church spring from octagonal columns without the intervention of capitals, while of rich or elaborate detail there is hardly a trace.

It would appear that the works were begun in 1368, without the permission of the Bishop and Prior of Carlisle, to whom, between 1115 and 1128, Henry I. gave the church at Newcastle. Hearing of what was going on, those dignitaries despatched a proctor to Newcastle on their behalf, not, however, before the works had made considerable progress.

On his arrival at St Nicholas, the proctor found a priest named Roger de Merley sitting near the new work of the choir "hammering and working upon a certain stone." Some parley having ensued, and no favourable answer being given to the questions put to the priest by the emissary from Carlisle, the latter "threw a pebble at the aforesaid new work," giving injunctions that it should proceed no further, and that the demolition of the old choir should be stopped, in testimony of which he flung a pebble at that also. The proctor repeated the same inhibition later in the same day to the burgesses—Robert de Angerton and John de Chambre—because, "by their counsel and aid, the said new work had been begun, built, and constructed." His prohibitions passed unheeded, being simply treated as an assertion of authority, and the work proceeded practically without interruption.

Although history is silent as to the precise time, the western steeple of St Nicholas, which is as part and parcel of Newcastle as St Paul's dome is of London, may be assumed from its architectural character to have been begun shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century. Some have attributed its erection to Robert de Rhodes, Lord Prior of Tynemouth in the reign of Henry VI., but the generally accepted

poraneously in the Baltic cities of Lübeck, Wismar, Stralsund, Stargard, and Dantzic.

fact is, that Robert de Rhodes, one of Newcastle's truest worthies, built it by his own munificence.

Newcastle Cathedral spire is known to everybody; stunted and somewhat heavy in itself, but literally planted on flying buttresses, and springing from them alone. It is possible that a development of the spire might have taken place in this direction; anyhow, the arrangement is far better than that which comes nearest to it, the *zimborio* of Spain and Portugal, but the effect can hardly be pronounced a success; indeed, one feels disposed to prefer Miss Wren's imitation at St Dunstan's in the East, London—so far only, of course, as distant contour is concerned—to the prototype at Newcastle.

The lantern towers of Linlithgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh have often been compared to it, but they have individual characteristics independent of the Newcastle example. Seen from Gateshead in the lurid glare of a fine sunset, through the smoke of innumerable chimneys, lighting up the further side of the broad Tyne, this airy spire crowning the dense mass of houses that, tier behind tier, crest the hill, produces a remarkably fine effect. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, the eminent bibliophile, described this steeple of St Nicholas as "one of the heaviest, coarsest, and most stunted church towers in the kingdom," adding, "there is nothing ecclesiastical about it; it is like the first cap of a young married woman placed on the head of an elderly maiden lady." Few, however, will concur in this opinion.

Pennant observes that "the tower of Newcastle church is justly the pride of the inhabitants," and Ben Jonson makes it the subject of the following enigma:

"My altitude high, my body four square,
My foot in the grave, my head in the air;
My eyes in my side, five tongues to my womb,
Thirteen heads upon my body, four images alone.
I can direct you where the wind doth stay,
And I time God's precepts twice a day,
I am seen where I am not, I am heard where I am not;
Tell me now what I am, and see that you miss not."

The story of how this aerial fabric escaped during the Civil War is a very hackneyed one, but may be repeated here for the benefit of those who do not know it. In October 1644 the Scottish general who was besieging Newcastle threatened to blow the lanthorn of St Nicholas down, when the Mayor, Sir J. Morley, placed his prisoners round it, saying: "They shall preserve or fall with it."

Charles I. attended service here during his captivity in 1646, when a Scotch presbyterian preached before him, and his sermon being ended, called for the 52nd Psalm, beginning:

> "Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
> Thy wicked work to praise?"

whereupon the king, standing up, called for the 56th Psalm, commencing:

> "Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
> For men would me devour";

and the people, waiving the minister's Psalm, sang that which His Majesty called for.

About 1560 the late fifteenth-century font received a graceful canopy, in whose details we may detect one of the earliest indications of that Renaissance style which was rapidly absorbing and extinguishing the Pointed throughout western Christendom; and in 1635, during the palmiest days of Laudian supremacy, the church was endowed with much of that fine furniture which characterised the epoch. It is sad to relate that, after surviving the troubles of the Civil War and the winter of Puritan supremacy, this woodwork fell a victim, in 1783, to the vulgarity of four churchwardens, who anticipated Wyatt in their work of destruction.

The superb Early Caroline fittings were ejected, and sold to the elders of a Presbyterian meeting-house, then being built at Gateshead. The pre-Reformation stalls shared the same fate, their poppy

THE NAVE LOOKING EAST

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heads being sawn off, and the remaining portions painted. One finial alone escaped, and is now preserved in the castle. Luckily, the fine organ-case, now in the north transept, escaped.

Other furniture in the style of Gothic then prevailing was introduced, including an organ-loft, placed beneath the western arch of the crossing, and provided with doors and windows, blocking off the choir from the nave, which was unused.[1]

Thanks, however, to a sepia drawing by Henry Wates, a local artist, we are able to form some idea of the interior of St Nicholas before it was vandalised. The original is now the property of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, but a copy is preserved in the cathedral vestry. It shows the Renaissance organ-case with three towers, standing on the Perpendicular screen between the nave and the choir, and the sumptuous Early Caroline pulpit with its sounding board. The screen was wantonly destroyed, but the pulpit remained until 1809, when it was removed to the chapel in the castle, and something more "fashionable" substituted. Eventually, however, it was returned to the cathedral through the exertions of Vicar Smith, but it succumbed later, to be converted into a sideboard!

Other works which it is needless to specify took place during the earlier part of the last century, and in 1870 more scholarly works were undertaken, resulting in the present aspect of the pile, under Sir Gilbert Scott.

The interior of Newcastle Cathedral, taken all in all, is more imposing than the exterior, which, from the lowness of its clerestory, and the flatness of its

[1] The writer of an article in the *Ecclesiologist* of 1847, entitled "A Pilgrimage to Hexham and Lindisfarne," alludes to the wretched condition of St Nicholas at that time, mentioning a placard, advertising people not to keep their hats on in the "outer church"; miserable and shameful necessity! An engraving of the interior of the church as it then appeared, from a drawing by Allom, lies before me as I write.

roofs, stands crushed by tall modern buildings hard by; the one and the other respectively proving, by the comparative absence and the presence of the quality, how especially effective height is in a town. Inside, there is no rival to distract attention from its positive proportions, and the church pleases accordingly by its breadth and repose.

The St Nicholas of the present day, with its spacious area, simple broad arcades, luminous transepts, and richly furnished choir, is an interior by no means to be despised.

WAKEFIELD

ADMIRABLE as is the essentially-completed cathedral church of Truro, and noble as that of Liverpool promises to be, it is always better, when possible, to link a modern See to an historical past, and this was found to be practicable in the case of Wakefield.

Until the enthronement within its walls, in 1888, of Dr Walsham How (so widely remembered and revered as Bishop of Bedford, or, as he loved to style himself, "Bishop of East London"), All Saints', Wakefield, like St Nicholas', Newcastle, had only parochial rank.

At that time the cathedral consisted of a nave and choir, with aisles extending the whole length, and a western pinnacled tower, rising with its plain but graceful crocketed spire to a height of 247 feet. As a Yorkshire church of its class, Wakefield took a high

place, being spacious, long, dignified, and well adapted to large congregations.

On the death of excellent Bishop How, after nine years' strenuous work in this, one of our most densely populated dioceses,[1] it was felt that no more fitting memorial of him could be devised than the eastward extension of the cathedral by means of transepts and a Lady Chapel, thus meeting the problem of the transformation of a fine parish church, without spoiling it, into one of minster-like character, such as would be adequate to the needs of a diocese like Wakefield.

The work of enlargement was placed in the hands of Mr J. L. Pearson about ten years ago, but he dying before the designs were completed, they were subsequently carried out by his son.

The late Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Temple) laid the foundation stone of the new works in 1901, and on St Mark's Day, 25th April 1905, the enlarged and beautified cathedral was reopened with an octave of services, which daily drew thousands from all parts of the diocese, and further afield.

The oldest part of Wakefield Cathedral is the south-west corner of the south chancel aisle containing a staircase. It formed a corner of the transept of a church built early in the twelfth century. This church was a simple cruciform one without aisles, but with a central tower. Parochial needs calling for an enlargement somewhere, a north aisle was added to the nave about the middle of the same century, and the bases and shafts of most of the piers that supported its arcade still remain. This side was first selected because it would not be necessary to interfere with any of the graves.

[1] Those features which during the eighteen years of Bishop How's episcopate had become so endeared to East London and West Riding of Yorkshire folk, have been admirably perpetuated by Mr James Nesfield Forsyth in the recumbent effigy of that prelate, in the new south transept.

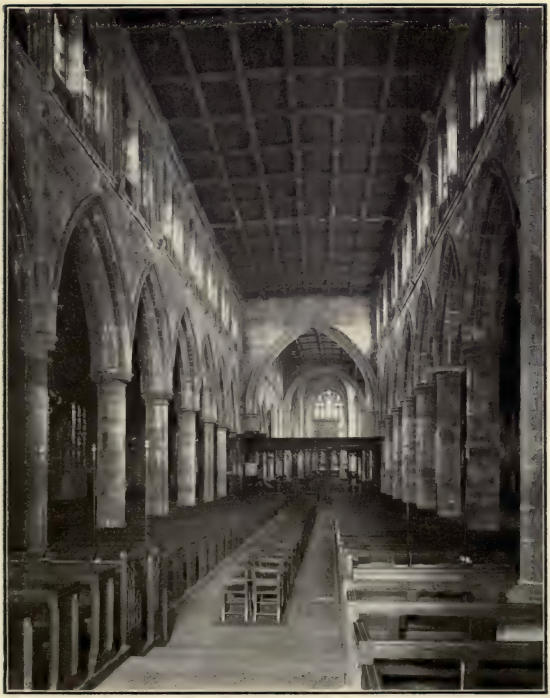
About 1220, although the graveyard had to be encroached upon, a south aisle was added, and its alternately round and octagonal pillars have survived the several changes brought about by later ages. In this instance eight bays of a narrower span were adopted, whereas on the north, there are only seven. Possibly it was thought desirable to have a larger number of points of support on that part of the site which was formerly used for burials.

Early in the fourteenth century the central tower fell, causing much damage to the north aisle, and necessitating an almost entire rebuilding of the church, which was consecrated on St Laurence Day, 10th August 1329, by the militant Archbishop William de Melton.

In 1409 the Archbishop of York granted an indulgence of forty days to all who would contribute to the erection of a new campanile, and the present tower was commenced at a little distance to the west of the main building. When it was completed, the church was lengthened to meet the tower, a clerestory was added to the nave arcades, the choir was rebuilt *de novo* with much wider aisles, the nave aisles were rebuilt to meet the enlarged ones of the choir, and about 1470 Wakefield Cathedral acquired the shape it presented before the late additions.

Although externally the cathedral has all the appearance of a purely Perpendicular building, it is made up of several styles, and, owing to the numerous and perplexing strata that time has deposited on its original nucleus, presents a somewhat intricate problem for solution.

The observation that it is impossible to explore an unrestored church without finding something of historical interest is so trite as to have become proverbial. If any could seem at first sight an exception to this rule, half a century ago the church



THE NAVE LOOKING EAST

WAKEFIELD . . . CATHEDRAL

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of All Saints', Wakefield, would have appeared to be such. Thoroughly and throughout debased apparently, it would have seemed to possess not a single feature beyond its size to attract attention. The works undertaken during the 'sixties, however, discovered many things of very great interest and value; and besides this much that was new and excellent was added. Mistakes, however, were made, arising from that great defect in modern restoration — over-haste and enthusiasm in getting churches cleaned, repaired, and made decent, whereby a sufficient amount of care was not exhibited in the preservation of ancient memorials—notably of some highly interesting remains of wall painting, which came to light on denuding the church of numerous coats of drab wash. Luckily the woodwork in which the church is so rich—the stalls and screens enclosing the choir of mediæval and Caroline date, and the early eighteenth-century organ-case—was not interfered with.[1]

The screen separating the choir from the nave is of different periods, the lower half being part of the fifteenth-century one, while the upper part, added in 1634, consists of diminishing pilasters with scroll-work on the face, carrying a double entablature with an elaborate frieze.

When I first visited Wakefield, a year before the commencement of the new work, I was greatly struck with the grandeur of the church, its dignified choral arrangements, and the stained glass by Mr Kempe with which all the windows in the spacious nave aisles had been filled. It was interesting on visiting the cathedral lately to compare this glass, most of which is in the artist's earlier style, with that in the new transepts and chapel of St Mark.

[1] A new Perpendicular window from Sir Gilbert Scott's design was inserted at the east end, and filled with stained glass by Messrs Lavers and Barraud, the cartoons being by Henry Holiday.

With regard to the new work at Wakefield, what has been done is briefly this: the choir has been extended eastwards for a distance of about 16 feet, where a handsome reredos has been erected, and beyond it there has been built out a retrochoir, with chapel and short transepts, each with an eastern aisle branching north and south. Eastward, altogether the new part of the cathedral extends for a distance of some 55 feet. Underneath, owing to the natural slope of the ground, it was found possible to provide a Chapter-house (directly under the chapel), and two large vestries—approached by steps from the north transept, and having an approach also from the street at the low level on the south-east—and on all sides the beauty of the structural design has been enhanced by the stained glass.

Standing in the nave, looking over the old choir-screen, it is impossible not to help noticing the contrast between its old Decorated oak roof and the elaborate groining of the stone-vaulted St Mark's Chapel, which, being divided into a centre and very narrow aisles by slender clustered shafts, produces an effect of almost endless perspective.

Outside, of course, the newness of the stone here contrasts somewhat severely with that of the old portions, but the smoke of Wakefield will no doubt do much ere long towards toning down its present brilliancy.

LIVERPOOL

THE parish church of St Peter, which serves as the pro-cathedral of the diocese of Liverpool, is a respectable structure of Queen Anne's days, though inferior to the similarly planned London churches of St Andrew, Holborn, St Clement, Danes, and St James', Piccadilly. The ecclesiological taste of the people of Liverpool seems of old to have been subject to strange vagaries, for, when in 1704 the parishioners were building the church, they sent to four London architects for designs for a side door case. Each, as might be supposed, sent a different one, and the worthy folks, unable to give a preference, inserted all the doors in addition to the one at the west end. Of the great cathedral which is now rising on St James' Mount, from the designs of Messrs G. G. Scott and G. F. Bodley, it is premature to speak.

BIRMINGHAM

THE architect of the stately Hanoverian church of St Philip, which contains the *cathedra* of Dr Gore, the first Bishop of Birmingham, was Thomas Archer, a pupil of Sir John Vanbrugh, whose style he caught in some degree. Archer was a Warwickshire man, and had considerable practice in the first half of the eighteenth century. He held office of "groom porter" under Queen Anne, George I., and George II.,

and he is so styled in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, where his death is recorded in 1743. The date of his birth is not known, but at his death he must have reached an advanced age. Of his churches, St John the Evangelist's, Smith Square, Westminster, is perhaps the best known. It was finished in 1728.

Birmingham Cathedral was in progress between 1711 and 1719, and, standing as it does on high ground, surrounded by a not unpicturesque churchyard, it has always commanded the attention of visitors.

As a building of its age and class, St Philip's is distinctly good. It is built of stone, and consists of a nave and choir under one line of roof, and a semicircular apse at the east end. The west end is surmounted by a pleasing cupola, which recalls that of the *Stift haug* at Wurzburg rather than any English example of my acquaintance.

The interior, whose ritual arrangements have lately undergone amelioration, is spacious and pleasant, and well adapted for its present purpose. The columns supporting the arches are of the fluted Doric order. In the apse is some stained glass of the Burne Jones-William Morris *fabrique* which has many admirers.

SOUTHWARK

By a happy coincidence the new See of Southwark came into existence on the Festival of Two Apostles —St Philip and St James—1st May 1905, a day peculiarly appropriate for the inauguration of such an apostolic work. I say "the inauguration" advisedly. It it true that a great work had already been accomplished. At a cost of more than £20,000, the episcopal stipend had been raised, a bishop's house provided, the noble church of St Saviour, already raised to collegiate rank, restored, decorated and furnished in the cathedral manner, and a residence

for the cathedral staff secured. For several years the church had been the seat of a bishop, suffragan to Rochester; but now the diocese, of which the church is the centre, and around which a thousand agencies of mercy and enlightenment must be organised and maintained, takes its place, architecturally no mean one, among the other great cathedrals of our land. It has, moreover, in its spiritual ruler, one to whom it already owes so much.[1]

A Saxon origin is assigned to this church, which was first attached to a nunnery supported by the profits of the adjoining ferry on the site of London Bridge, hence its appellation St Mary Overie, derived from the Saxon words *oferr*, upon, and *ea*, a river or running water. The Rev. Dr Thompson, in his pleasantly written "History and Antiquities of St Saviour," tells us that the word *ea* is still in use in the Fen Country, where it is applied to the canals for drainage, in which sense it is usually spelt *eau*, as if it had some connection with the French *Eau*. After various changes, and being refounded as a priory of canons regular of the Augustinian Order in the reign of Henry I., the church was destroyed by fire early in the thirteenth century, and rebuilt between 1208 and 1235,[2] by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester.

The Austin canons had three types of churches, and St Saviour's is one of the cruciform type, such as Carlisle, Twynham, Wytham, Colchester, Cartmell, Guisboro, Bridlington, Bristol, and Oxford. In its original Early English condition, St Saviour's consisted of an aisled nave of six bays, central tower and transepts, aisled choir of five bays, and four chapels beyond under separate gables, two of which opened from the centre of the choir, and one from

[1] Dr Talbot, from 1895 to 1905 Bishop of Rochester.

[2] "1208 (10th of King John). And Seynt Marie Overeye was that yere begonne."—"Chronicle of London" (Nicolas, p. 7). Portions of the earlier buildings are still in existence.

the extremity of either aisle. At a later period another chapel was built out from the third counting from the north; but whether this extraneous structure was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin or to some other saint has never been ascertained. The name of the patron was lost, or became merged in the appellation of "the Bishop's Chapel," by which it was known until its removal in 1830, on account of its containing the tomb of the saintly Andrewes.

All these portions were carried out in the Lancet phase of Early English, with later insertions, as, *e.g.* the windows of a more developed form in the Lady Chapel, or, as Francis Dollman[1] always would style it, "the retrochoir."

The Early English portions of St Saviour's, *i.e.* the choir and chapels and the north transept, are fine examples of the period (1208-60). The proportions of the choir are not great, but the skilful arrangement of its parts, and especially of its exquisite triforium, gives it a great appearance of height, and would, I opine, do so to a still greater degree but for the great Perpendicular reredos, which has concealed the two arches opening into the chapels and the triforium arcade above them. In permanence of equilibrium, the choir of St Saviour's is superior to the more ambitiously conceived ones of Salisbury and Westminster, and is perhaps the best piece of engineering of its age; but this it mainly owes to retaining that proportion between the three storeys which was usual in the preceding Norman epoch, instead of heightening

[1] Francis Dollman, a fellow-student of Augustus Welby Pugin in the office of "the elder Pugin," always took the liveliest interest in St Saviour's, and in 1881 published a most exhaustive account of it, restoring it by means of illustrations to the form which he had every reason to believe was the one it assumed before the destruction of the Early English nave in 1839. Mr Dollman was the architect of several handsome churches in North and North-east London.

NAVE LOOKING EAST

SOUTHWARK. . . .
CATHEDRAL

To face page 316.

the lower arches and aisles at the expense of the triforium, as was done in most buildings after the change to the Pointed style. This Romanesque lowness of the aisles at St Saviour's especially affects their windows, which become dwarfish in consequence, but the central avenue is nobly proportioned; and now that the church has been thrown open from end to end the spectator is enabled to realise the grandeur and unity of the whole. The deflection of the choir to the south is as noticeable as that at Lichfield.

The reign of Edward II. gave us the graceful reticulated tracery within the two arches formerly opening from the choir into the chapels beyond, also that in the window at the south-east corner of the latter.

The south transept was remodelled (after a fire that destroyed the priory during the reign of Richard II.) in the style Transitional from Late Decorated to Perpendicular. To the latter period belong the two upper stages of the nobly proportioned pinnacled tower, the arches upon which it rests and the stage immediately above them having been largely rebuilt during the Decorated period.[1] Perpendicular work of a good and early character was also introduced into the nave during the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. In 1469 the original Early English vault fell in, and was replaced by one groined in oak rich in carved bosses, some of which may still be seen piled in the eastern chapels.

Closely adjacent as St Mary Overie was to the episcopal residence of the See, it was at all times an object of the regard and attention of the bishops of Winchester. When, therefore, it is recollected that the name of Fox ranks with those of Walkelin, Lucy, and Wykeham as princely benefactors to the diocesan cathedral, it would be naturally expected

[1] The tower of St Saviour's contains one of the finest peals of twelve bells in the kingdom. The tenor weighs 52½ cwt.; that of Bow, 53 cwt.

that in a church like the present he would not be behind his predecessors, Gifford and De Rupibus. Fox found the nave, the choir, and the matchless Lady Chapel perfect and unimprovable. All that was left for him to bestow was the altar-screen, and he embraced the only opportunity of becoming a benefactor to the church by a similar donation to that which he had made to his cathedral; and in doing so he bequeathed to after-times a valuable legacy, stamping it with his peculiar device, the Pelican in her Piety, to point out to posterity its history and founder, in a modest but appropriate manner.

The new name of St Mary Overie, St Saviour, dates from the dissolution of the house in 1540, and commemorates a famous monastery which flourished in Bermondsey until that period.

"The Priory Church and Rectory of St Marie Overie were then leased from the Crown to the parishioners at an annual rental of about fifty pounds. This lease was renewed from time to time until, in 1614, the church was purchased by them from the king in the name of nineteen 'bargainers' or trustees for eight hundred pounds. The parishioners continued to be patrons of the living until 1885, when, by an Act of Parliament, the right of presentation was vested in the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Chaplain was made Rector"[1] (Thompson's "St Saviour's").

During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries the fabric fell upon evil days, and at the dawn of the nineteenth century presented externally little more than a conglomeration of clumsy botchings and disfigurements. All the mediæval fittings had disappeared, and, as may be seen from

[1] The church was usually served by two "Preaching Chaplains" of independent powers until recent years, when, by Act 31 Vic. 1868, both were merged in one, and by Act 46-7 Vic. 1883, the last of the chaplains became the first rector. Kelle, the first chaplain, was appointed in 1564.

a drawing of the interior in Wilkinson's "Londina Illustrata," it was pewed and galleried to a fearful extent.

Still, the Early English nave was intact with its grand south double doorway, its rich Perpendicular ceilings, and that Early Perpendicular western doorway figured by the elder Pugin in his "Specimens," and the destruction of which is recorded by his more celebrated son in the "Contrasts."

The Lady Chapel was all but a ruin, with its unglazed windows boarded up, and to the east of it projected the chapel containing the tomb of Bishop Andrewes.

To the north of the church was a large vacant space where the cloister had stood, on the eastern side of which there still remained some *débris* of the monastic buildings.

There was also in existence a late archway to the north of the west front, leading into the open vacant ground, and a fine Late Norman doorway on the north side of the nave—a relic of Henry I.'s church, and formerly communicating with the cloisters.

Between 1820 and 1830 the choir was conscientiously restored by that pioneer of the Gothic movement, George Gwilt, who, with his son, had devoted the most anxious and praiseworthy study to the work, which exists as we now see it to-day. Apparently Gwilt's work did not meet the views of the parishioners, and when the transept was to be proceeded with, they placed the work in the hands of an architect named Wallace, who, in restoring the great southern window, introduced a copy of the richly traceried rose window then existing in the Bishop of Winchester's palace hard by.[1] Wallace also restored the great reredos, which had previously been concealed by an altar-piece of

[1] This graceful piece of work may be seen in a view of the *Ruins of Winchester House*, engraved by Le Keux from a drawing by William Capon, in Britton's "Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities" (1830).

the Wren school very creditably. About this time (1830) a parochial squabble arose on the subject of the Lady Chapel, which, had it not been for the intervention of several zealous antiquaries, among whom should be named E. J. Carlos,[1] and Etty the painter, would have been destroyed. Gwilt offered, if funds could be raised, to give his services gratuitously in restoring the chapel. Fortunately these were forthcoming, and the building, whose "picturesque charm, gracefulness of design, and merits of detail alike bear witness to the superior intelligence of the minds that conceived and the hands that executed it,"[2] was preserved to us.

The Mr Wallace alluded to above was deputed to report on the state of the roof of the nave, and with that perverse thoughtlessness which even at a later day characterised such reports, he pronounced it unsafe, the ends of the beams being decayed, and before arrangements could be made for a new one, the condemned roof was taken down. Parish bickerings extending over several years caused the nave to remain a ruin, exposed to the ravages of the elements, till at length, in spite of repeated entreaties on the part of antiquaries and a portion of the public for the preservation of the nave, it was, in 1839, at last doomed to be taken down within seven feet of the ground to make way for "as vile a preaching place as ever disgraced the nineteenth century."[3] By this sudden reaction of public opinion, more merciless than any of the conflagrations of old Southwark, we lost one of those priceless treasures of which England, and its capital especially, had so few to spare—a piece of original building art—a thing which the whole power of the modern world cannot produce, yet thought it worth while to imitate,

[1] A constant contributor on archæological subjects to the *Gentleman's Magazine* under the initials E. I. C.
[2] F. T. Dollman.
[3] A. W. Pugin in the *Dublin Review*.

was first petted for some years at a great expense, and then reduced for ever to a mutilated fragment.

The choir and transepts were then completely cut off from the western portion by glass screens, remaining tenantless until the first note in the reconstruction of the nave was sounded a little more than sixteen years ago. Although the idea had been mooted several times before then, no definite steps were taken in the matter until the elevation of Dr Thorold to the episcopal chair of Rochester in 1877. Constantly, both with voice and pen did the bishop press the claims of St Saviour's, urging the demolition of its feeble Early Victorian Gothic nave, and the substitution of a work that should reproduce the glories of the mediæval one. Under his enthusiastic and masterly leadership splendid individual and public munificence was forthcoming, and on 24th July 1890, the foundation stone of the new nave was laid by his present Majesty. The good Bishop witnessed the completion of the work in which he took so deep an interest, in all essentials, but two years before its solemn inauguration, early in 1897 he had passed away.

A small portion of the walls and foundations of the thirteenth-century nave, as well as some details of the earlier church, were discovered and incorporated into the new nave, which is from the designs of the late Sir Arthur Blomfield.

The walls are faced on the exterior with flints, and the stone used is Bath, Weldon, and Ancaster. The general effect, externally, is at present rather hard and cold, so much so as to raise the wish that the architect had adhered less rigidly to the original Early English design, giving it back to us, with, of course, certain modifications, in the condition in which it was before the unroofing—that is to say, with the interpolations and alterations of later periods.

Within, the general effect is remarkably impressive,

in spite of the absence of the high, light screen. Standing at the extreme west end the curious deflection of the choir to the south is as strongly marked as at Lichfield. In connection with the rebuilding of the nave, other works have been prosecuted in the eastern parts of the building. An entirely new window was inserted in the front of the south transept, the side ones being brought back to what we may conceive was their original form; the choir was richly stalled; a new organ built, though not happily located; the grand old late seventeenth-century chandelier renovated, and suspended from the roof above the tower arches; the sanctuary decently fitted; and a quantity of stained glass introduced.[1] A daily choral service has also been established.

Full of ornament as St Saviour's now is, there is still something to be done. The lancet windows in the clerestory of the choir demand new glazing, and in Bishop Foxe's graceful altar-screen the niches exclaim for their imagery. How long will this be? We trust not very long.

Many, distractingly many, are the calls upon Churchmen. They may reasonably pause and ask themselves how much they can allowably afford to ornament, while there are so many places around them evoking their aid. Still, they must do something, and that something no niggard dole, to make the sanctuary glorious; and of ancient churches which from their historical associations appeal to the Churchman's sympathy, London's "South minster" does not assuredly hold the lowest rank.

[1] That in the great south transept window, representing the Radix Jesse, may be instanced as among the finest produced in recent times.

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PRINTED AT THE EDINBURGH PRESS, 9 AND 11 YOUNG STREET.

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